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ABSTRACT

This report examines the problems involved in researching institutional and socio-cultural bilingualism and contains suggestions for about 60 projects and related case studies. These projects are presented under the following headings: (1) The Service, Methodological and Geographical Aspects, (2) Inventories, (3) Problems of Conceptualization and Classification Common to All or Most Countries, (4) Heterogeneous Polities, (5) Problems of the Nation State and of the Monolingual Society, (6) Socio-Cultural Bilingualism, and (7) Language Planning. (FB)

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RESEARCH POSSIBILITIES ON GROUP BILINGUALISM:

A REPORT

AL 002 361

by **HEINZ KLOSS**

1969

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Centre international de recherches sur le bilinguisme
International Centre for Research on Bilingualism
Université Laval, Cité universitaire,
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ON
GROUP BILINGUALISM:
A Report

by Heinz Kloss

International Center for
Research on Bilingualism
Quebec, Canada

in collaboration with Albert Verdoodt

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Foreword

In 1969 the "Centre international de recherches sur le bilinguisme" commissioned me to investigate, during a three month stay in Canada, the possibilities for research work in the areas of institutional and of socio-cultural bilingualism, two areas for which we have a cover-term, namely collective bilingualism. The outcome of my studies which I undertook in close collaboration with my colleague Dr. Albert Verdoodt, was the report which the reader will find on the following pages. I wish to state that Dr. Verdoodt has heavily contributed to it. Still the conceptual groundwork underlying this report was mine and so is the responsibility for its shortcomings.

By midsummer 1968 the report was finished. When, late in 1969, it was decided to make it accessible to a wider reading public, I tried to up-date it. By and large however, my additions and revisions were restricted to publications that appeared in 1968 and to events that happened in the same year.

This report conveys suggestions for between 50 and 60 projects; to give a precise number is difficult because some suggestions (such as those sub 4.4, 5.3, 5.7, 6.43, 7.2, 7.6) call for a number of case studies which may be undertaken separately or within the framework of one single larger project. Fortunately some of these projects have already been tackled following the termination of the report. Thus the Canada Council has funded the project 2.3 "Inventory of Standard Languages" and the Killam Fund has done the same for the project 2.1 "Inventory of the Linguistic Composition of the Nations of the World". The topic suggested sub 5.8 "Bilingual Universities" has been tackled by Albert Verdoodt who is also investigating the coexistence of two linguistic groups within the Canadian trade-unions, thereby doing a case study for the C.I.R.B. in the area of voluntary organizations mentioned sub 6.31. Mr. Gaston Plourde has done an essay on "Options politiques fondamentales de l'état plurilingue" in partial implementation of project 4.6 on "Safeguards for politico-linguistic rights". Similarly, the imminent editing, in book-form, of the working papers of the UN-sponsored Seminar on the Multinational Society held in 1965 in Ljubljana may be considered a partial implementation of project 2.4 calling for an inventory concerning present linguistic policies. The present writer has written an (all too short though) article on "Language Rights for Immigrant Groups" for the I.L.O. magazine "International Migration" thus enlarging upon the topic he outlined sub 5.4. And doubtless there are scholars who have been launching programs and doing projects in some area of this report without my knowing it -- and, of course without their being aware of this report.

Yet most of the projects listed on the following pages are still awaiting implementation and it is hoped that some of the readers of the present paper may become interested and instrumental in getting some of the projects launched. While we of the C.I.R.B. will be glad to lend a helping hand whenever we can we do not feel that all or even most of these projects ought to be tackled under C.I.R.B. auspices. We should however appreciate being informed by those wishing to work on one of the projects mentioned herein so that we might tell others and help avoid duplication of efforts.

Quebec, November 1969 Heinz Kloss

0.1 Prefatory Remarks

A survey designed to do some groundwork for a prospective research program in the areas of institutional and group bilingualism 1) will have to explore four dimensions, which we shall call A, B, C and D, the first three-named being strictly subsidiary to the last-named.

These dimensions are:

A The service dimension i.e. the question of who may be the chief beneficiary (and consequently, perhaps, the future promoter) of the projects;

B The methodological dimension i.e. the problem of how and by whom results may be achieved within a reasonable span of time;

C The geographical dimension i.e. specific designated countries, regions, cities, or ethnic groups singled out for investigation;

D The topical dimension i.e. relevant research topics analysed conceptually apart from any specific geographical setting.

I propose to take up the three minor dimensions first. While all emphasis should be on the topical and conceptual aspects, nothing we can say about them can be visualized in proper perspective unless it is held against the background of the three other aspects.

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1) Henceforth throughout this brief report I shall speak of "bilingualism" with the tacit understanding that only the two areas of institutional and group bilingualism come under consideration.

REPORT ON POSSIBILITIES FOR RESEARCH WORK ON INSTITUTIONAL AND GROUP BILINGUALISM

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1.0 Three Subsidiary Aspects

1.1 The Service Aspect: Beneficiaries and Promoters

1.11 General Overview

It is useful to list briefly some of the major possible beneficiaries -- who at the same time may conceivably become active promoters -- of research projects in the fields of institutional and/or group bilingualism.

a) Canadian, federal, provincial and maybe even municipal authorities, or other agencies, such as research councils, foundations, and universities.

b) U.N.O. and/or UNESCO

c) American federal government and/or central research agencies, e.g. the S.S.R.C. (Social Science Research Council), Language Research Section of the U.S. Office of Education; Ford Foundation; Rockefeller Foundation; Foundation for World Peace; Center for Research on Language and Language Behavior in Ann Arbor, Michigan; Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington; M.L.A. (Modern Language Association) etc.

d) The Governments of certain countries which are plagued by difficulties arising from language problems (e.g. India, Belgium, Yugoslavia).

e) Some major publishing houses.

1.12 Relations with the U.N.

While the importance of the Center's relations with Canadian authorities goes without saying it may not be amiss to emphasize the chances for a working relationship with certain departments of tne U.N... The problems of the multinational state as well as of national and linguistic minorities which are so closely, and indissolubly interwined with those of bilingualism, have been somewhat neglected during the first two decades of the existence of the U.N. Such problems were completely overshadowed by the issues and slogans of individual human rights, racial equality, and national self-determination. But since the early sixties most goals in these spheres have been attained. Besides decolonization I mention only the two 1966 Covenants on Human Rights -- and as a concomitant hitherto overlooked, problems which are largely language-based are visibly pushing to the fore. The Ljubljana "Seminar on the Multinational Society" (actually a seminar on the multinational state) marks a break-through in what is now becoming a new trend. Further evidence of this trend may be seen in the inclusion in one of the Human Rights Conventions of 1966 of a cautiously worded article on minority rights -- something unthinkable ten years before.

Activities and contacts concerning institutional bilingualism fall under the responsibility of the Human Rights Division whose former director, Professor John P. Humphrey, of Canada (and now residing in Montreal, and a man whose advice should be inestimable) pointed out to Dr. Verdoodt (in 1963) that, in the near future, minority problems would constitute a fruitful field of research.

Dr. E. Schiller, one of Austria's permanent delegates to the U.N. has started, in conjunction with the "Subcommission on Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities", an inventory of national linguistic minorities in all parts of the world, and in 1967, when I called on him in Vienna, we foresaw the possibility of future collaboration in this area.

It is quite probable that the files and archives of the U.N. contain a wide variety of information that might be unearthed and made available to the general public or -- through limited editions -- to a restricted group of recipients.

Work with the U.N. perhaps need not always be a one-sided proposition implying that the Center has to execute some project in which U.N. has indicated interest. Conceivably in some cases the U.N. might become interested in a suggestion coming from the Center and act upon it.

To give an example: Language statistics have seldom listed the knowledge of a second language (with Canada, India, and South Africa being among the exceptions).

The possibility should not be ruled out that the U.N. (or UNESCO) in future questionnaires to member states, include some questions suggested by this Center. (It is, of course, obvious that the U.N. would submit these questions in its own name without mentioning the C.I.R.B.)

(On collaboration with the U.N. cf. particularly sub 2.2 and 2.4)

1.2 The Methodological Aspect: How to Implement a Program

It would seem that there are at least eight avenues of approach. They are, of course, not mutually exclusive i.e. four or five of them may be used simultaneously for the same project.

a) Publication of existing, and completed, but not yet generally accessible documents. These may be

aa) unpublished theses, especially doctoral dissertations;

bb) unpublished compilations of pertinent laws, constitutional provisions, international treaties etc.;

cc) unpublished working papers from a seminar, or conference etc.;

dd) statistical materials now hidden in the archives of some government office;

ee) answers to circular letters concerning our domain which are sent out by some supranational body (e.g. UNESCO) to member states.

Publication may be done either in the routine way of bringing out the document (s) in book-form through a publishing house, or by a computer which may be cheaper at least under certain conditions, such as if we need only a limited number of copies, say, one hundred. Xeroxing or some other unexpensive technique should also be considered.

I am emphasizing this aspect at some length, because I feel that in order to produce research results that will be taken seriously and be welcomed by scholars, we need not in all cases embark upon projects which will take two years to carry out and complete, while such lengthy projects are indispensable and while a number will be listed in the following sections, they can, and should be supplemented to our advantage by others that give promise of almost instantaneous results.

b) Perusal, by one or two people, of all pertinent books, articles, and documents available at Laval and other places (chiefly Montreal, Ottawa, New York, Washington).

c) Distribution of circular letters requesting information from the following sources:

- aa) various Ministries of Education. Dept. of Education;
- bb) governmental statistical offices;
- cc) embassies, and consular officers of particularly interested and/or well informed countries (e.g. Canada, U.S.);
- dd) universities and research institutes;
- ee) individual scholars, especially field-workers, known to have worked in the area of bilingualism or in adjacent fields.

d) Exploitation of language files known to exist often in a non-official capacity in various parts of the world. I am thinking, e.g. of the little-known archives established in Chicago by professors Eric Hamp and Norman McQuown.

e) Contacts and even contracts, both at home and abroad, with research agencies or with polling agencies, or teams of scholars with the intention of a specific problem -- and that, if possible, simultaneously in various foreign countries along similar or even near-identical lines.

f) Training of young post-graduate researchers in connection with one or more of our projects.

g) Careful continual perusal of 'research in progress' reports such as those on 'Language Research in Progress' brought out by the Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington, D.C. since 1965, and related reports from other countries and/or research areas (e.g. Sociology). In addition, regular reports by present and future correspondents abroad and in other parts of Canada on relevant 'research in progress' so as to avoid, above all, duplication of work.

h) Editing of books (including yearbook) and/or pamphlets.

1.3 The Geographical Aspect

About this aspect little has to be said. Field-related research, by definition, is reality-oriented; the 'field' constitutes as it were the 'natural laboratory' (Fishman) for conceptually flawless research. For such field-work we may choose both Canadian and non-Canadian settings. We must avoid any extremes such as on the one hand that of remaining out of touch with Canadian realities so as to be considered as being in Canada but not of Canada (and/or in but not of Québec), and on the other hand of concentrating so heavily on specific domestic issues as to look parochial to anybody but a Canadian. The best way out, at least in theory, would be to select non-Canadian settings and situations that are distinctly analogous to those existing in Canada. The feasibility and workability of bi- and multilingual parliamentary debates (cf. below sub 4:4) might serve as an illustration. While the descriptive part of the research in question might deal with Switzerland, India, Belgium, Tanzania etc., the conclusions to be drawn in the final chapter might be of immediate relevance to the Canadian situation.

It is obvious, that the foregoing remarks are not meant to rule out field-work within Canada. But is is equally obvious that much spade-work will have to be done regarding bilingual situations abroad. The very nature of bilingualism implies that virtually no country can be ruled out a priori as being unimportant with regard to our field of interest. The mistaken notion that unilingual countries offer little opportunity for relevant investigations will be dispelled by what we will have to say about the problems of cultural (over against functional) bilingualism (cf. sec. 5:7).

2.0 Inventories

2.1 Inventory of the Linguistic Composition of the Nations of the World

No work on institutional bilingualism will be really useful or even meaningful unless we know the linguistic composition of the countries in question. A constitutional provision stating that languages A and B are to have equal status in both administration and the courts may be attributable in one country to the fact that both languages are spoken nationally by sizeable portions of the population (cf. Canada), and in another country to the overwhelming prestige of A which however may be a foreign or "imported" language, while B may be the mother tongue of practically all inhabitants (cf. Lebanon).

An initial source of material may be provided by official statistics. A great many statistics, perhaps all that were extant at that time, are to be found in the Demographic Yearbook of the U.N.

(A) 1956, N.Y. 1956, pp. 282-294
(B) 1963, N.Y. 1964, pp. 321-329
(C) 1964, N.Y. 1965, pp. 684-685

But even the data assembled here may need some re-interpretation and even reshuffling. For example, in Volume C the tabulation on language statistics is preceeded by one on "ethnic composition and sex" (pp. 681-683). Obviously most of the data compiled here concerning ethnicity refer to racial origin rather than language. But for some countries, such as Gabon, Gambia and Niger, the data refer to tribal and thus possibly by implication, to linguistic units.

One might consider the advisability of bringing out, in pamphlet form, a revised (i.e. re-interpreted) list of the figures contained in the volumes mentioned above, as well as a list of the most recent figures obtained by the U.N. from

> Angola, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrein England & Wales, French Polynesia, Gabon, Hong Kong, India (!), Isle of Man, Italy, Jersey, Morocco, Panama, Peru, St. Helena, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, Sikkim, Surinam, Turkey, Western Samoa.

These figures, according to a letter from the U.N. dated May 6, 1968, will probably not be published before 1973, the Demographic Yearbook featuring a different subject matter each year. (This incidentally is a random illustration of what we might unearth by collaborating with the U.N.).

While it is important to collect these statistics they will remain insufficient, for many decades to come, for two principal reasons:

I. Many statistics may be held to be unreliable because of either a desire on the part of a government to distort the facts, or because of a lack of good enumeration techniques, or by the use of questions which are not in keeping with those customary in most other countries (e.g. by asking for the language most frequently spoken instead of the language spoken at home during childhood, etc.).

II. For a great many countries no statistics exist, nor are they likely to be prepared within the foreseeable future.

Therefore in order to make the picture somewhat more complete we shall have to supplement the official figures by non-official ones. In the first place, we should have to turn to experts who are in a position to submit relatively reliable estimates, and to encyclopaedic publications such as the "Archives of Languages of the World" edited by Florence M. and C.F. Voegelin in Bloomington (1964-1966) and the appendix to Russia's magnificent Atlas Naradov Mira (Moscow 1964). In addition, circular letters such as those suggested in sec. 1.2 of this Report, sub c would be advisable.

In order not to have to handle an unwieldy body of facts the inventory might be restricted to speech groups numbering at least 10,000 persons or representing at least 3% of the total population.

It would seem that such a survey would be highly welcomed in many circles. Nor would an excessive financial effort be required, since practically no field work would be necessary apart from, perhaps, trips to two or three major language archives in North America.

In a number of cases it may not be possible to reach an agreement concerning conflicting statistical estimates given by experts; in this case the various estimates might be published side by side with, maybe, some indication on the part of the editors as to which one is likely to be nearest to the truth.

As a starting point we might use other sources besides the Demographic Yearbook noted above such as the tables published by J. Roberts in F. Rice (ed.): Study of the Role of Second Languages, 1962 and by H. Kloss in his article "Sprache" in Handbuch der Entwicklungspolitik, 1966.

The Federal Union of European Nationalities (F.U.E.N.) is now preparing a handbook on nearly 90 European nationalities which is scheduled to appear late in 1969 and which will contain some of the data needed regarding this particular continent. (The present writer happens to be on the editorial board).

2.2 Inventory of Legal Provisions Regarding Language Rights (Multinational States; Rights of National and Linguistic Minorities)

Equal in importance to the incidence of two or more speech communities within the boundaries of one single country is the incidence of legal provisions by means of which a government tries to channel, smooth out and/or direct the interethnic or rather interlingual contacts, fictions, and tensions necessarily arising from such domestic co-existence. These legal provisions may be contained in the constitution, in laws, or in decrees; occasionally, judicial decisions or rules and even international treaties may have to be adduced.

Most of the provisions will deal explicitly either with linguistic rights generally, or with the language (s) of one or several specified indigenous ethnic group (s). We must however not overlook the fact that sometimes a language is protected indirectly, e.g. by provisions concerning territorial autonomy rather than by language laws. It requires some degree of familiarity with local conditions to include these laws instead of mechanically searching the index of a statute book for the keyword "languages" or the names of indigenous languages.

While an up-to-date survey of pertinent legal provisions now in force would be highly desirable, some more immediate possibilities seem to lie close at hand. In 1953 the United Nations Organization brought out a mimeographed compilation which was highly prized by experts who had a chance to utilize it and which, while partly obsolete, possibly has still enough value even today to warrant publication of at least a limited edition. For scholars, a compilation of this kind retains a definite usefulness because of the source material assembled; and as it stands now it seems to have become accessible mainly to governments -- and only occasionally to scholars in the case where they happened to work for or be connected with a government. The title of this document is:

Provisions for the Protection of Minorities (1953) = Doc. E/CH. 4/Sub. 2/ L 45.

In addition, the following document ought also to be examined:

Activities of the U.N. relating to the Protection of Minorities (1958) = Doc. E/CN. 4/Sub. 2/194.

Should the problem of getting the above two compilations printed in part or as a whole (as for publication techniques see 1.2 sub a) be taken up with the U.N., the additional question is bound to come up as to whether it would not be wise policy to send out new questionnaires to the various states in order to bring the information up-to-date. The outcome of such a discussion cannot now be foreseen, but it seems to the present writer that the two solutions are not mutually exclusive; i.e. that, while a new survey may be started, there is no reason not to make the 1953/58 compilations listed above accessible in the meantime.

2.3 Inventory of Standard Languages

The question whether, in a given country, the various languages spoken natively by sizeable segments of the population will live on or die out; i.e. whether the bilingualism prevailing or likely to become prevalent will be of the stable or of the replacive variety is inextricably interwoven with the question of which of these languages have been standardized, or at least alphabetized and have thus become vehicles of written literature. With regard to those that have been alphabetized a trichotomy has to be introduced as to whether they are used merely for primary and adult education (incl. community development), religious edification, and/or political indoctrination of the most elementary kind, or used for purposes implying a level roughly corresponding to secondary school teaching; or used even in higher education, including possibly a modicum of original research work.

During the last four years, I have elaborated a questionnaire which helps answer these and related questions, thereby enabling us to predict, with a considerable degree of probability, changes bound to occur regarding certain languages and nationalities. So far, the questionnaire has been used by the "Forschungsstelle für Nationalitäten- und Sprachenfragen" in Marburg (with some aid from the "Center of Applied Linguistics" in Washington D.C.) with regard to a considerable number of less-known languages of Europe and a limited number of languages spoken in developing countries. The work had to be interrupted in 1967 for lack of funds, but it may be said to constitute an unusually promising venture. If it is to be taken up again, the good services of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, which has pioneered in the alphabetizing of hundreds of minor tongues, ought to be secured.

Incidentally, the inventory here outlined would greatly facilitate research work proposed in later sections of this Report e.g. sub 4.7, 4.8, and 7.6.

2.4 Inventory Concerning Present Linguistic Policy

It seems desirable to have an inventory of actual or possible policies in the field of intranational relations. This, however, is a long-range goal which we may keep in mind but which may be out of reach for the time being.

However, there is on hand what may be duly considered a stepping-stone to that goal, in the working papers (or background papers) prepared for the U.N. Seminar on the Multinational Society held in Ljubljana, June 1965. They describe language policies in a number of countries, such as the Soviet Union, India, Ceylon and other multinational states. So far they have been just mimeographed (the Forschungsstelle für Nationalitäten und Sprachenfragen in Marburg owns a complete set) and the thing to do might be to make a proposal orally to the Human Rights Commission -- which sponsored the Ljubljana Seminar -- in order to collaborate with them in publishing these papers in book-form.

Besides the background papers -- which alone would yield a notable volume -- the proceedings of the Ljubljana Seminar should come under consideration. The published summary (Seminar on the Multinational Society, N.Y. 1945) is rather brief and impersonal. The tape-recordings retained the names of all delegates who spoke up for or against a given proposal. But sometimes these delegates (and their governments) do not want to see the issue at stake, set forth in sharp profile. Hence the cautious text of certain official abstracts brought out by the U.N. But U.N. officials are glad to collaborate with scholars who are not on their payroll and who therefore can afford to include in their abstracts delicate but crucial data which the official publication had to circumvent. Unfortunately the tape-recordings of the Ljubljana Seminar have never been transcribed and seem to have disappeared altogether.

Conceivably we might come across other materials at U.N. headquarters which deserve to be edited and published or, at least, distributed. A great many countries send regular reports to the Human Rights Commission on progress made in the field of human rights. Some of these reports -- e.g. those from Belgium -- contain much pertaining to minority rights. But the Commission regularly publishes only part of this information, leaving out what it believes to be of secondary importance. Since national and linguistic minorities were, until quite recently, counted among the less important topics, we may surmise that much that concerns them is now hidden away in the unpublished sections of those reports. (On collaboration with the U.N. see also supra sub 1. 12).

2.5 Taking Stock of Second Languages in Schools

2.51 The Teaching of Foreign Languages

It would seem to be useful, and not too complicated a task, to supplement the "Inventory of Mother-Tongues" (See 2.1) by an "Inventory of Other-Tongues" (to use Fishman's handy term). Here we are on firmer ground. There are few countries in the world where we do not know at least the public school curricula, showing the place of foreign languages in the secondary schools. In a great many instances statistics as to enrollment are either on hand or can easily be deduced for if one single foreign language is compulsory in all grades of the secondary schools the number of pupils studying it simply equals the sum total of students.

An enormous body of facts is hidden away in UNESCO's giant World Survey of Education (vol. I, 1955-IV, 1966). But these facts if lifted out of the present context are likely to prove to be rather incomplete and in some cases obsolete. The focal volume (III, on secondary education) appeared in 1963. The volume on higher education (1966) may still be considered to be up-to-date -- but unfortunately the questionnaire on which it is based did not inquire about the language of instruction (which conversely had been listed in the now outdated International Handbook of Universities, Paris 1959).

No survey should be conducted in this field before UNESCO has been contacted in order to ascertain whether it is not preparing, or at least contemplating, a new compilation.

The volume now proposed should meet the following requirements:

a) A clear distinction should be made between compulsory and optional subject matter;

b) What is even more urgent is that an emphatic distinction should be made between foreign languages that are simply being taught, and those that are being used as media of instruction with the exclusion of the mother tongue, both with regard to grades and to branches of study;

c) Curricula and time-tables should be supplemented by enrollment figures.

2.52 The Use of Foreign Languages as Media of Instruction

The project sketched under 2.51 may meet criticism on the grounds that it is: (a) too far-reaching and consequently too expensive and time-consuming, (b) chiefly concerned with situations which are marginal to the problem of bilingualism.

As an alternative it has been suggested that a survey be conducted on the use of foreign languages in primary, secondary, and higher education, as media of instruction.

Such a survey would isolate a number of significant facts and features. It would also be a corollary, and at the same time a prerequisite, to the survey on "functionalized bilingualism". (Proposed sub 5).

John Macnamara wrote in 1967 (Jo. Soc. Issues, V.23, p. 133): "Considering the magnitude of the problem...it is surprising that so little work has been done on teaching through the medium of a second language. The topic is surely one of the most neglected in the whole of educational psychology".

It was, however, pointed out to him that sociologists (or sociolinguists, or political scientists) must tackle the problem before educational psychologists approach it systematically.

Countries that would emerge as typically doing much or all of their secondary school level teaching through "other-tongues" would be e.g. Ireland, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Malta, Paraguay and the countries of sub-Saharan Africa.

In the realm of higher education the number of countries that could be listed would be even greater. A number of careful distinctions would have to be made which lead up to the following classification (OT = other tongue, Fishman's term for foreign language; MT = mother tongue).

I Fully bilingual schools (FBSs) for monolingual groups in countries where the mother tongue is a language of wider communication -- Russian, German, Spanish, French, and last but not least English -- which is more or less widely known among speakers of other languages. Under this first category will fall e.g. Australia, most of the U.S., Canada, west of Ottawa, and in the Atlantic region outside New Brunswick.

II FBSs for people speaking fully elaborated national languages which however are "languages of narrower communication" i. e. not widely known among speakers of other languages -- the case of Czech, Danish, Dutch, modern Greek, Hungarian, Serbo-Croatian.

III FBSs for people whose mother tongue, while a national language, is not yet fully equipped to cope with the phenomena of our times -- occidental technology, the sciences, etc... -- the case of a number of people of Asia who use ancient but archaic standard languages (Persian, Amhara, Burmese, etc...)

IV FBSs for people who while living in a monolingual neighbourhood are aware of the fact that they form only a relatively small minority within the nation at large and that in terms of careers, and general upward mobility, their future hinges on their being able to master the OT i. e. the nationally dominant language.

V BSs (bilingual schools) where each of the two languages is the MT of a sizeable segment (more than 5%) of the student body.

VI BSs where the OT while not the MT of a sizeable number of students is frequently spoken in the immediate neighbourhood of a great many of them, especially in the streets, in the stores etc., the linguistic climate being conducive to a kind of "natural out-of-school bilingualism".

VII Schools where the OT is the only medium of instruction but the MT is taught as a branch in

I grades 1-3
II higher grades

VIII Same, but at the primary level the MT is not even taught as a branch.

Categories VII and VIII are prevalent in many secondary schools of Southeastern Asia and in many primary and secondary schools of sub-Saharan Africa and of the Indian-speaking parts of South America (Andes; Paraguay). We are dealing nor with bilingual schools but with bilingual education except in the sense that the educational situation involves the co-existence and intersection of two (or more) languages; classroom activities, however, will be largely monolingual.

The chief dividing line would be drawn between school systems where the "foreign" language is used to the exclusion of the native tongue, and those, where both are used as media of instruction. Among the schools belonging to the second category some additional finer distinctions would be necessary. Thus e.g. in the case of the Soviet Union we would have to group separately data concerning:

a) the foreign language schools (bilingual schools) by means of which Russian children become fully familiar with English, German, or French (in rare cases even Spanish, Hindi, Chinese etc.)

b) the same type of schools when established in regions inhabited by national minorities are thereby faced with the problem of trilingualism (e.g. Ukrainian plus Russian plus English).

c) the use of the Russian language in secondary or higher education for students who are native speakers of minority tongues such as Byelo-Russian, Uzbek, etc...

3.0 Problems of Conceptualization and Classification Common to All or Most Countries

3.1 Intrinsic and Extrinsic Problems

Some problems that come up for consideration in the context of bilingualism are extrinsic, in that they refer to other, usually non-verbal, areas of culture and/or society. These problems have one thing in common in that they all can be designated by a formula beginning with "Bilingualism and..." e.g. 'Bilingualism and Biculturalism', or 'Bilingualism and Economic Progress'.

The chapters that follow (3-7) will be restricted mainly -- though not entirely -- to intrinsic problems. This approach is based on the belief that in order to solve the extrinsic problems we will first need a thorough knowledge of the problems of bilingualism as such. But we will have to be liberal in our interpretation of what constitutes an 'intrinsic' problem.

3.2 Official Languages, Working Languages, National Languages

In present-day supranational bodies there has emerged a distinction between official languages and working languages. In the U.N. English, French, Spanish, Russian and Chinese are official languages, but only the two first-named are working languages.

Conversely, in the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe only English and French are official but additional languages may be and have been admitted as working languages.

It can be seen, therefore, that in the U.N. it is more important for a language to be admitted as a working language than to be merely an 'official' one, while in Europe the 'official' language clearly outranks the working language.

In discussing individual countries, the picture becomes even more complicated because here we meet a dichotomy between 'national' and 'official' languages. In Switzerland, four tongues -- German, French, Italian, Romansh -- are considered national languages, but only the first three are official. Luxemburgish in Luxemburg and Sango in the Central African Republic enjoy a similarly lofty but rather inconsequential status. This means that we have languages which for a number of reasons have status as symbols (or co-symbols) of national identity but which are considered unfit, or at least superfluous, for transacting governmental business. In other cases the distinction of being a national language is reserved for a language which at the same time is held to be an adequate tool for official purposes as well: Irish in Eire, Hindi in India. The way English is juxtaposed to Tagalog (Philippino) in the Philippines, Malay in Malaysia, Singhalese in Ceylon, Burmese in Burma, Swahili in Tanzania, shows a number of fine distinctions which it would be interesting to discern and describe. Southwest Africa is among the countries where we have both official and working languages.

A project is suggested which would:

a) describe in detail the co-occurrence within supranational bodies of official and working languages,

b) describe the same co-occurrence within the various nations of the world, while at the same time adding the dichotomy between official and national languages,

c) propose a unified nomenclature so that a language fulfilling more or less the same function in three different countries would no longer be called a working language in the first country, an official in the second and a national in the third.

3.3 Classification of Countries on the Basis of a Socio-Linguistic Profile Formula

3.31 The Formula

Facts such as those likely to be amassed if the project suggested in 2.3 is implemented, will be of restricted value unless we devise generalizable parameters.

Ferguson was the first to present what he called a "national sociolinguistic profile formula" at the UCLA Sociolinguistics Conference in 1964 (cf. Ferguson 1966). He tried to summarize findings concerning the language situation in a given nation in a quasi-mathematical way, his formula for Belgium running thus: e.g.

5 = Lmaj 2 (Sowi, So) + Lmin
1 (Sgs) + Lspec. 2 (Crs, Ss),

Here the abbreviations have the following meaning (L = language)

Lmaj = major language (s)
Lmin = minor language (s)
S = standard language (1)
o = official language
w = international lingua franca
i = international language of wider communication
g = used primarily for intra-group communication
s = widely studied as a subject in schools
r = widely used for religious purposes.

Another attempt was the "Notes Concerning a Language-Nation Typology" I submitted in 1966 at the Airlie House Conference on Language Problems of Developing Nations (cf. Kloss 1968). Here I introduced a fourfold classification of the languages spoken in a given country according to

(a) numerical strength
(b) juridical status
(c) developmental status (i.e. degree of standardization)
(d) 'indigenousness' i.e. whether the language in question was 'endoglossic' (i.e. spoken natively by a sizeable portion of the population) or 'exoglossic' (i.e. imported as a 'mere' second language); (the term 'exoglossic' is actually really coterminous with Ferguson's 'language of special status').

In this way I arrived at categories such as

endoglossic nation states (e.g. Sweden),
exoglossic nation states (e.g. Somalia),
endoglossic multinational states (e.g. Belgium),
exoglossic multinational states (e.g. Uganda),
exoglossic multitribal states (e.g. Guinea).

Neither Ferguson's solution nor the one submitted by me can be considered final. But I am convinced that it is possible to arrive at a combined formula which will prove largely satisfactory, and I propose to make an attempt in this direction while I am in Quebec.

3.32 The Survey

As soon as a (relatively) final formula has emerged, its application to all the data on hand seems advisable. We might envision:

a) a preliminary rough survey based on the data now on hand,
b) a final and rather refined survey based on the data that will be assembled through the project suggested in 2.1 (inventory of the linguistic composition).

The preliminary survey will have to remain rough for two reasons: (I) because the underlying data may be scant, only partly reliable, and in other ways insufficient; (II) because the fragmentary character of this data may compel us not to apply all criteria that will go into the final formula.

Still it might be a good thing to make this first survey because such a first overall view will be valuable in itself; moreover it may enable the Center to answer relevant questions that may come in from (e.g.) Canadian authorities, and other agencies.

3.4 Classified Survey of Officially Bi-or Multilingual Countries

The recognition in one country of two (or more) co-equal national official languages may cover any one of the following five situations:

A In Nation States

1) Co-occurrence within one ethnic group of two indigenous national languages (Eire, Norway);

2) Co-existence, within the nation state, of one indigenous and one imported language (Madagascar, Malaysia, Malta);

3) Equal status, in a nation state, of two (or more) imported languages (Somalia: English, Italian, and Arabic).

B In Multinational or Multitribal Countries

4) The co-existence of two (or more) indigenous national languages spoken by two (or more) indigenous ethnic groups (Belgium, Canada,Pakistan);

5) The pairing-off of one indigenous and one imported official language (Malaysia);

6) The joint role of two co-equal imported tongues (Cameroun: French and English);

7) The selection, in a multilingual country claiming official equality for all its major languages, of one which is to be, or become, the national link language (India, Soviet Union).

The last-named configuration mentioned would probably emerge as overshadowing, in importance, all the other ones. For here the very viability of the multi- (as against the merely bi-) lingual state is at stake. Since government business at the central level -- including activities of the legislature as well as of the judiciary -- would become hopelessly entangled if conducted in three or more languages, any country having more than or at most two major speech communities is compelled to make a choice and to select one or two for preferential treatment. Thus, while India earnestly desires to mete out equal treatment to the 14 languages listed in the constitution (the so-called constitutional languages) she could not help but select one, namely Hindi, which was to be 'more equal than the other'. Inevitably that is bound to arouse resentment among some of the speakers of the less favored languages. This was likewise one of the causes for the decay, and disruption of Imperial Austria in spite of otherwise magnificent achievements in the field of language legislation.

The same problem is now besetting Yugoslavia where we find three national languages, Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian and Macedonian with a possible fourth and fifth if the government yields to the demands of those Croation nationalists who desire their variety of Serbo-Croatian to be treated as a separate linguistic unit and if the members of the Albanian-speaking minority succeed in convincing Belgrad that, being more numerous than the Macedonians, they cannot put up with an inferior status of their language.

3.5 Appendix: Language Usage in Supranational Bodies

On the languages used in supranational bodies some excellent groundwork has been done by Ostrower in 1965. His book ought to be followed up, however, by research in the following areas:

a) The comparison of actual with theoretical language usage as permitted by the U.N. bylaws. To what extent has the recognition of Chinese remained a dead letter? What is the statistical ratio of French, Spanish, English in U.N. assembly meetings today? What was it ten years ago?

b) A study of the linguistic conditions obtained in all organizations associated with the U.N. such as the F.A.O., W.H.O., the U.N.O. offices in Europe and Asia, etc.

c) Studies of major regional organizations such as the O.A.S., the COMECON, SEATO, CENTO, the European Common Market and the Council of Europe. The last-named bodies are of particular significance because the policy pursued by them with regard to official and working languages foreshadows some of the possibilities and difficulties which the hoped-for United States of Europe are likely to face.

4.0 Heterogeneous Polities

4.1 The Crucial Problem Stated

In section 4.1, the reader will find only introductory remarks; no specific proposal will be advanced in this section.

In his article on "Some Contrast Between Linguistically Homogeneous and Linguistically Heterogeneous Polities" (1966) J.A. Fishman has isolated a dichotomy which resembles in importance that between monolingual and bi -- or plurilingual individuals. He even arrives at some rather spectacular tentative conclusions. For while we are said to live in a supra-ethnic age it seems that the linguistically homogeneous and thus very frequently centered -- ethnicity nations are as a rule more stable, more mobilized, more prosperous than the heterogeneous polities. This overall impression of Fishman's is of course confirmed, at least with regard to stability, by daily observations in Canada where the adequacy of the binational state is being seriously questioned by some members of the French-Canadian intelligentsia.

We are thus led to inquire about the very viability of the heterogeneous polity.

Our apprehensions may be mitigated after we have tried to analyse the heterogeneous nations by means of some of the newly-introduced categories proposed under 3.3.1 and 3.2, especially the distinction between multinational and multitribal states. Fishman's tabulation (on p. 154 of his 1966 article) contrasting those heterogeneous polities that have a very high or at least medium 'per capita gross national product' and those where the 'p.c.g.n. product' is low or very low reveals that in the first group all 17 are multinational states (or even nation states with a relatively high percentage of persons speaking minority tongues, e.g. Rumania), while in the second group one-half of the 47 have-not countries can be classed as "multitribal".

In a way the juxtaposition of homogeneous v. heterogeneous polities resembles that of white v. non-white races or nations. Just as the only denominator the latter have in common is their being 'non-white' i.e. a purely negative factor, so the heterogeneous polities while being without exception non-homogeneous comprise a wide scale of polities which in many respect differ much more among themselves than from most homogeneous states. In nearly every respect heterogeneous Belgium is closer to the homogeneous nations of Japan, or Portugal, than to heterogeneous Cameroun. Thus the whole issue seems to be surrounded by a haloof unreality.

And yet the problem of viability exists for all heterogeneous nations, even for those which are multinational in the strict, i.e. juridical, sense of the word, even though at the present moment it may not be a burning issue within each of them. In the still totalitarian Soviet Union the issue is simply not permitted to come to the fore (contrary to what has been going on in Yugoslavia for years and to what is now going on in Czechoslovakia). In Switzerland it is still largely dormant (but rather acute in one of its component states, namely the canton of Berne). In India, while certainly a vital issue, it is over-shadowed by the even more vital struggle for life in the most elementary i.e. the biological sense of the word.

4.2 Classified Survey of Multinational States

The survey suggested in this section overlaps with the one proposed under 3. 32. It might constitute either an alternative (being after all more easily realisable), or an extension, in that for the multinational state a number of subcategories will have to be taken into account.

We may call a state multinational where:

> either two or (at most) three languages spoken natively by indigenous ethnic groups are recognized as national and/or official,
>
> or where four or more languages, all of them spoken natively by sizeable groups among the citizenry, are officially considered co-equal though for practical reasons (see below section 4. 3) only one or two of them have been recognized as national official.

By this definition we have already achieved a first division by categories; since we have to distinguish between plurinational i.e. bi- or at most tri- national states and states that are 'multi'-national in the strict sense of the word 'multi' (- many).

Another important distinction bears on the degree of language corpus distance (intrinsic distance) between the various languages considered "national" by the country involved. There are instances where they are closely, recognizably akin -- as in Yugoslavia, where Serbocroatian, Slovenian and Macedonian all belong to the same subgroup of Slavonic languages. On the other hand, we find in India a sharp borderline separating the Northern (so-called Indo-Aryan) from the Southern (Dravidian) languages.

A third distinction indicates whether the multinational state in question comprises entire speech communities or only parts of them. The "fragmented multinational state" (in German: Teilnationalitätenstaat) consists largely of fragments of larger speech communities. Belgium comprises parts of the French, the Dutch, and the German speech area. In Switzerland fringe groups of the German, French and Italian speech communities live together.

The "unfragmented multinational state" comprises largely entire speech communities inhabiting a contiguous speech area on the same continent or island. India is largely an unfragmented multinational state; the same holds for the Soviet Union.

In theory there would seem to be some likelihood that a multinational state is more stable when comprising:

a) 2 major speech communities,
b) speech communities that are linguistically akin,
c) entire speech communities and not just peripheral fragments apt to undergo the 'pull' exerted by the bulk of their speech community.

But this logical assumption is certainly not fully borne out by the facts; witness the unrest prevailing in Belgium, Canada, and Czechoslovakia. The survey proposed here might yield some clues to these complex and sometimes bewildering phenomena.

4.3 Uni-, Bi- and Multi- linguality in Multinational States

Wherever we have in a multinational state only two major speech communities it is not too difficult to bring about complete legal equality of the two languages. As for the implementation, an unknown number of additional factors may prevent the de jure equality from becoming a societal reality, e.g. differences between the two ethnic groups in sheer numbers, in economic wealth, in cultural prestige, in language-orientedness etc. (cf. ch. 6).

But wherever four or more major indigenous groups are involved, full equality becomes an impossibility. The affairs of central government cannot be transacted in more than two languages; any attempt to use six languages simultaneously would end up in hopeless entanglement. So the only solution is to single out one or at most two languages and disregard the others. That is what was done in Imperial Austria and what has been done more recently in the Soviet Union and in India. In the last-named country, the equality of 13 additional languages (among them Sanskrit) has been solemnly proclaimed in the constitution. But while this may be an efficient safeguard against any attempt to gradually suppress and supplant these languages and to undercut their status as regional official tongues, it does not help them much on the federal level. Here they are left out in the cold and it is small wonder that at least some members of some speech communities resent this lowly status -- at least some of the time. In actual fact, the impossibility of making all languages equal certainly contributed to the downfall of Imperial Austria and is heavily contributing to the more real than apparent instability of India. This would constitute a major problem for the United States of Europe because it would be impossible to make the national languages of all member states official. Spaniards and Greeks, Swedes and Dutchmen, perhaps even Germans and Italians would have to look with resignation and not without bitterness at a few select official languages.

The fact that in a federal state multilingualism among the component states or nationalities makes for uni- or bi- linguality in the central government is of fundamental importance. (Multilingual states with only two indigenous official languages are Afghanistan and Pakistan, in a way even Switzerland). Few studies could be more timely and more urgent (for mankind at large) than one devoted to this particular aspect of bi- and multi - lingualism.

4.4 Case Studies

In order to explore the prospects and pitfalls of the multinational state an almost unlimited number of case studies would seem to be possible and probably useful. We have to discern between two kinds of studies:

I. Research that probes into a single polity, like Professor K.D. McRae's excellent book on Switzerland (1964), which might be and probably will be followed up by similar books on other multinational states such as Finland, Belgium, India, etc., to be issued by or on behalf of the R.C.B.B. and designed for domestic consumption in Canada.

II. Comparative studies on the manner in which various multinational countries have handled, and are now handling, the problem of using two (or more) languages in:

a) parliamentary debates;

b) the publication of laws and other official documents;

c) the courts;

d) municipal government (including selection of books in municipally-owned public libraries);

e) public advertisements; traffic signs and other public signs and inscriptions;

f) government control of, or interference with, mass media such as radio, television, the movies.

The topics listed under (b) and (c) lead up to the particularly thorny issue of the authenticity of two or more versions of a law, decree, or constitution. In the Swiss canton of Berne, both German and French (the latter being spoken by only 1/7 of the citizens) have been official for a long time but until the cantonal constitution of 1950 only the German version was considered authentic in the sense that in cases of doubt the interpretation was to be based on the wording of the German text. It would be highly revealing to ascertain the status in the Soviet Union of the Ukrainian, Uzbek and other non-Russian versions, and in India, of Tamil, Bengali, Telugu, and other non-Hindi versions of federal laws. For Canada much spadework was done by C.A. Sheppard in his report for the R.C.B.B. (sections 3.44-3.47). Comparative studies such as those indicated in this section have been recommended to the C.I.R.B. in a letter from Mr. Séamus O Ciosain, in Dublin.

4.5 How to Overcome the "Condition de minorité"

The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism has done much to explore those factors which serve to bring about complete equality of two languages in one country. In this, the Commission has been eminently successful.

However equality of two languages does not imply or produce complete equality of the two ethnic groups speaking them. Inevitably one of the two communities is weaker in numbers and therefore in danger of becoming outnumbered whenever a vote is taken in parliament. This "condition de minorité", so frequently decried by French-Canadian authors, may lead to one or both of the following unpleasant consequences:

a) The ethnic majority carries the day every time a major issue is at stake which in itself is of an 'anethnic' character i.e. which is in no direct way linked up with the problem of linguistic, cultural and even economic unfoldment of the minority. Thus a vote taken by parliament on NATO or NORAD might be in favor of Canada's continued affiliation with them even though 90% of the French Canadian representatives voted against it. (A classic example was the outcome of a plebiscite held in Switzerland in 1962 concerning the use by the Swiss army of atomic weapons; even though a vast majority of the French-Swiss voted for a ban on these weapons, the German Swiss, numbering about 70% of the constituency easily outnumbered them by voting in favor of their use).

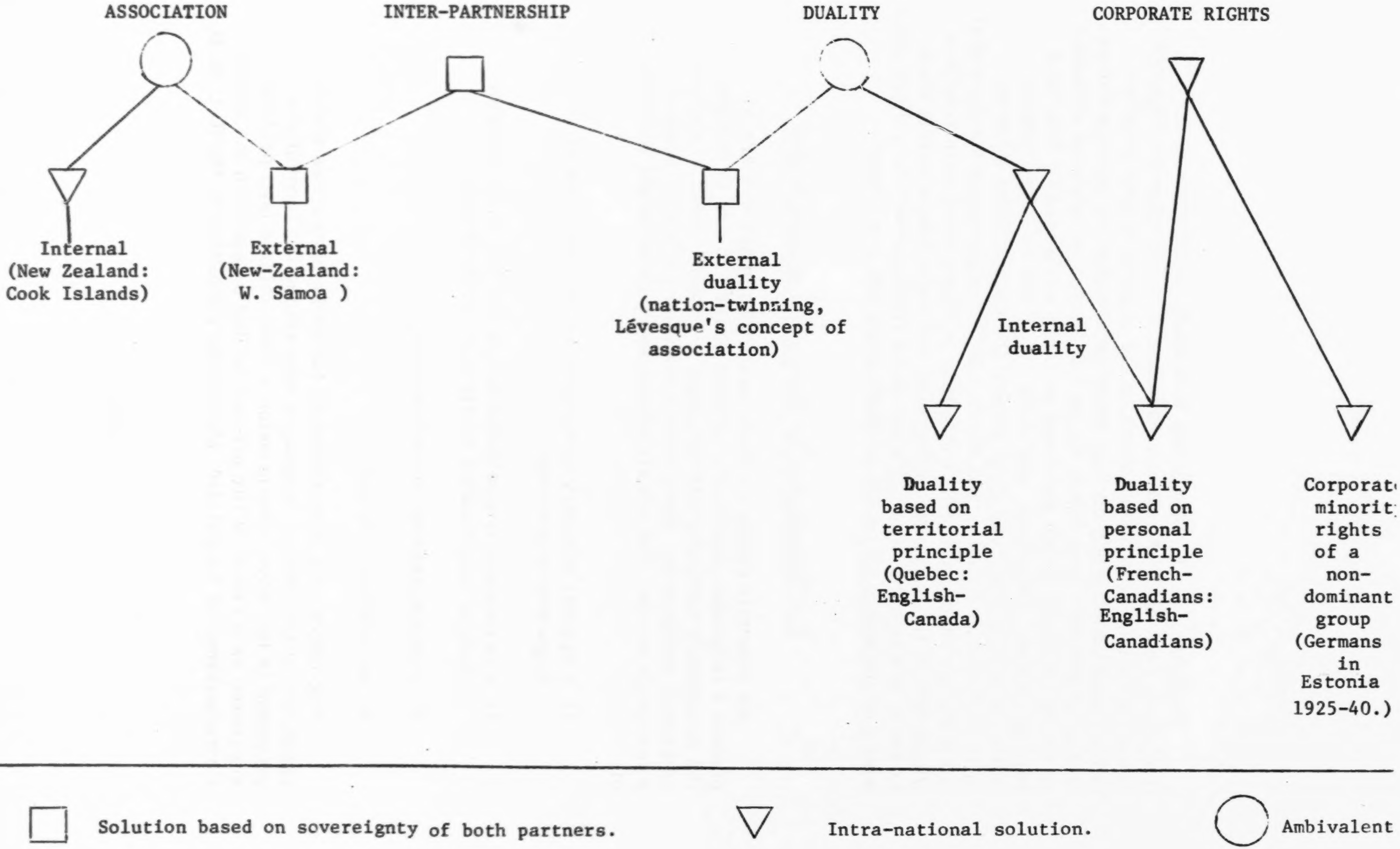
b) For the time-being the ethnic majority, in Canada as well as in Switzerland, will certainly refrain from outvoting the Latin minority whenever it is felt that the measures envisaged in the bill might weaken the position of the minority, especially in the fields of linguistic and educational policy. Still the members of the minority may hold that there is no assurance that this will always remain so and they may fear that in years or decades to come the majority might misuse their numerical superiority to do away with some of the rights that the minority (i.e. the numerically weaker co-founding group) may now enjoy or be about to acquire.

Here a number of measures offer themselves -- for discussion at least if not for immediate adoption. I shall content myself by briefly listing them because this is a topic on which one has to be either very brief or very detailed, circumstantial, and elaborate.

Measure no. 1:	For certain designated measures (e.g. the annual budget; recognition of a foreign government; treaties of alliance; constitutional amendments) a majority of representatives from both ethnic groups is requisite -- Calhoun's famous principle of the 'concurrent majorities' or, to put it the other way round, the "duality concept".
Measure no. 2:	The French-Canadian in all parts of Canada form a body corporate on a voluntary basis.
Measure no. 3:	The right to entertain international relations could be granted to the Province of Quebec in a subsidiary fashion, with regard to certain sharply-defined and exhaustively-enumerated areas (e.g. associate membership in UNESCO).
Measure no. 4:	The state of Quebec becomes an 'associated' state -- not in the sense the Lévesque movement is using the term "association" but in the sense of international legal language as applied to the states of (e.g.) Puerto Rico, the Faeroe Islands, and until 1962, Eritrea. (On association, see the excellent study by Fahrni, 1967).

These four measures are not wholly interdependent; they may be adopted individually or as a group. Nor are they fully in harmony with one another: nos. 3 and 4 are based on territorial and no. 2 on personality principle, while no. 1 may be interpreted and applied both ways. Nor is any one of these measures recommended for more than cool, careful and circumspect scrutiny.

Actually the concept of duality is applicable not only to the international relationship between two ethnic groups, each of whom holds 50% of the government's decision-making power, but also to the international relationship between two sovereign states which on the basis of complete equality have entered a permanent loose confederation (in German: Staatenbund) with a certain superstructure, e.g. joint sessions of both cabinets, a joint currency, joint foreign trade relations, etc. It is the type of relationship which R. Lévesque recommends for the future status of Quebec with Anglo-Canada. (Regrettably he chooses to call it 'association', a term in international law applied to a rather hierarchical relationship between a stronger and a weaker polity. Nation-twinning might be a better term for what Lévesque has in mind and what constitutes a sub-category of the broader concept of "international partnership" which term we may in turn shorten to 'inter-partnership'. The relationship, and frequent overlap, between some of the concepts I am referring to becomes clearer by means of the following chart:


ASSOCIATION
INTER-PARTNERSHIP
DUALITY
CORPORATE RIGHTS
Internal (New Zealand: Cook Islands)
External (New-Zealand: W. Samoa)
External duality (nation-twinning, Lévesque's concept of association)
Internal duality
Duality based on territorial principle (Quebec: English-Canada)
Duality based on personal principle (French-Canadians: English-Canadians)
Corporat minorit rights of a non-dominant group (Germans in Estonia 1925-40.)
Solution based on sovereignty of both partners.
Intra-national solution.
Ambivalent

Professor J.-Y. Morin has in a study (submitted to the R.C.B.B.) on "Le fédéralisme canadien et le principe de l'égalité des deux nations" discussed some of the aspects of this problem. In his unpublished study on "Le statut particulier en tant que forme de gouvernement" (see sub 4.6), he has moreover adduced evidence as to the extent to which solutions as those envisaged by him have been proposed, discussed, and tried out in and by other nations. But no single scholar can fully exploit the possibilities inherent in this research domain, and the C.I.R.B. might make a substantial contribution based on the fact that it is in close touch with scholars whose distinctly European background and experience enable them to add a new insight, a novel slant and a fresh outlook to a discussion which is certain to go on for at least some years to come.

4.6 Safeguards for Politico-linguistic Rights

All minority rights -- those dealt with under 4.4 are to protect a language--and those outlined under 4.5 are to protect the community speaking this language -- stand in need of certain additional safeguards. Here again I shall be content to suggest a few catch words. The constitutional safeguards might consists of:

1) a special ministry commissioned to take care of linguistic minorities;

2) a permanent commission set up for the same purpose (such a commission exists e.g. in Belgium);

3) a commissioner or ombudsman;

4) an arbitral tribunal.

The office of a commissioner for those minorities which speak one of the official languages was among the innovations proposed in the Royal Commission's first volume (and perhaps suggested as a result of the present writer's report on the Indian Commissioner of Linguistic Minorities submitted to the R.C.B.B.).

The problem of an arbitral tribunal might be courageously gone into. In Le Devoir, April 17, 1968, (p. 4), Claude Ryan writes with regard to the relations between Ottawa and Quebec: "Il faudra prévoir, dans la future constitution, des mécanismes d'arbitrage appropriés. La fonction d'arbitrage, dans de tels cas, pourrait fort bien être confiée à une cour constitutionnelle dûment acceptée par toutes les parties contractantes... Pareil mécanisme ne sera pas facile à définir; l'idée même... risque d'apparaître, aux yeux de chaque gouvernement intéressé, comme un abandon ou une diminution de sa souveraineté. Mais nous n'avons guère le choix".

Professor Jacques-Yvan Morin in Montreal has just finished, for the provincial "Comité de la constitution", his survey (mentioned under 4.5) on "Le Statut particulier en tant que forme de gouvernement" wherein he gives an exhaustive list of instances where certain territories or -- more rarely -- ethnic groups have been granted a special status. A similar study, with juridically more restricted terms of reference, has just been published by Peter Fahrni (cf. Fahrni, 1967). On the basis of these and similar inventories the C.I.R.B. might help point out solutions found elsewhere. While it certainly is not for the C.I.R.B. to make outright recommendations it probably would be appropriate for it to help isolate relevant facts and point them out to Canadian statesmen for closer scrutiny.

4.7 The Multitribal State and the Problem of Three-Storey-Polities

The multitribal state as mentioned under 3.31 and 4.1 possesses a multiplicity of indigenous languages which as a rule have almost no literary tradition in the occidental sense of the term (nevertheless their oral 'literature' may be of an exceedingly high caliber). This situation has led to the adoption in most subsaharan states of Africa, of an imported English or French language as the sole medium of the central government, of the laws, dockets, and of public schools from roughly grade 3 on. In most French-African states the imported language reigns supreme even in grades 1-3 while in most of the former British (and Belgian) colonies and territories, local vernaculars serve as teaching media in the lowest primary grades. It is not the purpose of the present paper to give a detailed picture of the situation -- but one basic problem seems to be common to at least a great many of these countries -- the question of whether the future linguistic structure of these countries will be a two- or a three-storey building.

The new nations stand in need of a national link language. English and French are still too little-known and perhaps too foreign to the spirit of the man-in-the-street, let alone the man-in-the-bush, to become the lingua francas within the next decade. In the meantime the necessity of being able to communicate with all members of the national community has favored the rapid expansion of certain indigenous languages -- Wolof in Senegal, Sango in the Central African Republic/République Centrafricaine, Haussa, Ibo, and Yoruba in populous Nigeria etc. From Senegal we have an excellent study by F. Wioland (1965) showing the enormous extent to which Wolof has become the second language of children from non-Wolof families who usually pick it up on the playgrounds of the public schools which in this case promote the expansion of an indigenous tongue quite as much as that of French.

The choice before many African States is

either to try to make French or English the sole media of communication which in due course of time will relegate all African languages to an inferior position in the hope that they eventually will die out i.e. be replaced by the imported languages,

or to try to keep all languages alive, obviously a hopeless task, given the incredibly high number of living languages (80 for 4 million Cameroonians!),

or to pick out let us say seven or eight languages which might serve as a second storey between the group of minor vernaculars (ground floor) and the imported tongue (third floor).

There are indications that some of the states are now squarely facing this issue. Sango has been promulgated as the second national language of the Central African Republic, along with French. Mali has been active in promoting (through and with aid from UNESCO), the major indigenous tongues, esp. Bambara. In Nigeria, Haussa has been regional official ~~even before~~ independence. In Uganda several leading languages have become regional official so that we have already here a three-storey-building with English on top (as the sole language of the central government), four or five regional languages forming the second storey and others forming the ground floor. Again a different structure has been erected in Tanzania where

Swahili clearly outranks all other African tongues and will eventually replace English to a considerable extent-an outcome not likely to happen in many other multitribal countries.

The foregoing sketch had to be oversimplified in order to be more or less applicable to all countries in question. Actually there are indications that in some countries a much more complex situation will finally emerge -- four -- or even five-storey structures. Thus we find countries even now where

Some languages are simply left to themselves,

Some are being used in the primary grades,

Some are being used as well in regional administration,

one is to be the national link language, and

on top there is the overarching European language.

Le Page (1964) would have to be consulted; so would Alexandre (1968). Another possible starting point would be scholarly literature. In 1963, an article by E. Polomé set forth that in Congo-Kinshasa there is no prospect of French supplanting the local cultural languages; hence the need to explore, exploit, and stabilize situations in which definite languages are being used at several clearly definable levels.

But by far the most important source of information should be the Ford Foundation-sponsored 'East African Survey of Language Use and Language Teaching' with headquarters in Nairobi. There will be, by the turn of the year (December 30, 1968 - January 7, 1969) an interdisciplinary 'Seminar on the Sociolinguistic Implications of Multilingualism in Eastern Africa', sponsored by the International African Institute. Since Dr. Verdoodt is still titular 'professor of sociology' in Bujumbura, capital of neighbouring (though as yet not survey-covered) Burundi and since he already received a preliminary invitation, it would be the easiest thing to have him participate and thus get the 'feel' of what is going on there. (His own preliminary report on the language problems of Burundi gives proof of his expertise and his ability to cooperate with the team doing the East African Survey).

5.0 Problems of the Nation State and of the Monolingual Society

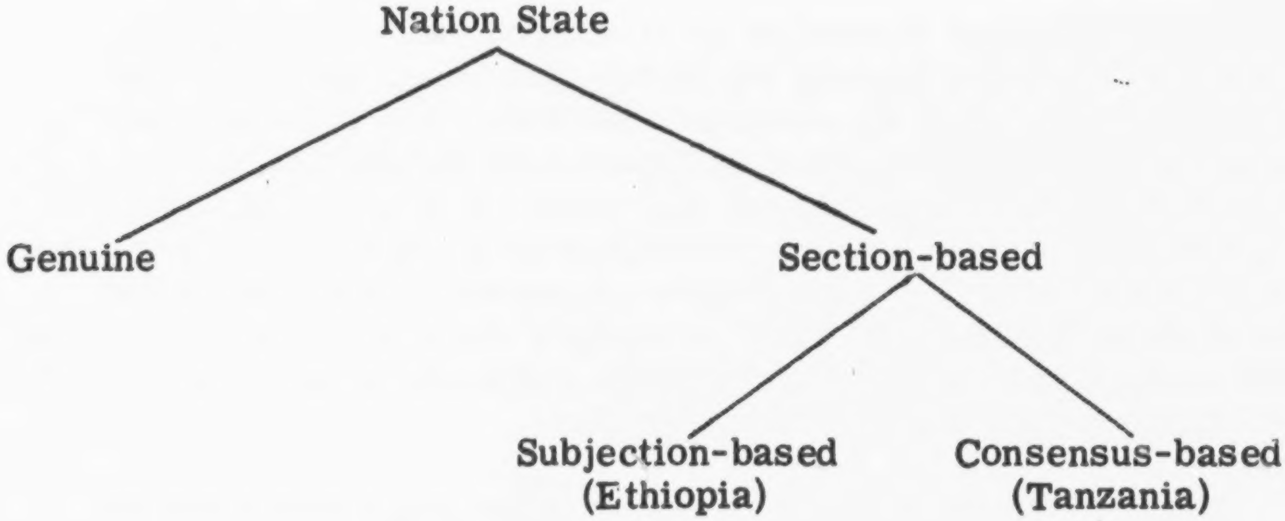
5.1 Typology and Classified Survey

We may designate as a nation state any country dominated by a single ethnic group which forms a large majority of the inhabitants and thus actually represents the nation at large; according to Fishman a nation may be considered homogeneous if the dominant linguistic group comprises at least 85% of the population (and if among the remaining 15% no significant linguistic minority is present; see Fishman's article on homogeneous and heterogeneous polities quoted at the beginning of sec. 4.1).

We also may call a nation state any country in which no single group is numerically dominant to the extent stated above but in which one politically - and sociologically - dominant indigenous group has succeeded in making its mother-tongue the country's sole national official language. This dominant group may amount to no more than 32 (Ethiopia) or even to 5 (Liberia) percent of the inhabitants.

Of these two categories the one described first may be called "genuine nation states" (coinciding with Fishman's homogeneous polities), while in the case of the second category it may be appropriate to speak of 'section-based nation states'.

Among the section-based nation states, we find some where the preferential treatment meted out to a language spoken by less than 85% of the population (and often less than 50%) is based upon the consensus of all major indigenous speech communities (Tanzania, Indonesia, Philippines). In a number of other cases the domineering position of the ruling language will turn out to be the result of warlike conquest and subjection:



There are a few countries in the world that have no linguistic minorities at all, and which are monolingual in the fullest sense of the word (e.g. Iceland, Portugal). In a great many others the minorities comprise less than 2% of the inhabitants (Norway, Austria). An important distinction is the one setting off the unfragmented as against the fragmented nation state. The unfragmented state comprises the bulk (80% or more) of the members of a speech community living on the same continent and inhabiting a contiguous area. Thus Portugal and Brazil each comprise nearly all of the Portuguese-speaking inhabitants of Europe and of South America, respectively; they may therefore be grouped with the unfragmented nation states.

On the other hand, the Spanish-American and the Arab-speaking countries are fragmented nation-states, each comprising a portion (always below 50%) of the whole speech community. In the overabundant literature concerning nation states and nationalism the occurrence of the fragmented nation state is frequently overlooked.

It would be possible to prepare a survey of all nation states now in existence, based on the distinctions indicated above. This survey would overlap with the one suggested under 3.32. Like the one outlined under sub 4.2 it might either constitute an alternative to 3.32 which would also be easier to execute or an extension which would introduce some new subcategories not yet mentioned under 3.32.

5.2 Minority Rights: Conceptual Survey and Studies

In a conceptual survey of all conceivable minority rights we will come across most of the topics mentioned under 4.4 and 4.6 in connection with the multinational state. But the emphasis will be different. The issue of parliamentary debates or the publication of official documents will come up seldom and then only for a component state within a federation (e.g. Spanish in New Mexico, French in Louisiana) or for an autonomous territory within either a federal (New Mexico until 1912) or unitary state; the autonomy of the Faroe Islands indicates that territorial autonomy need not be confined to countries with a tradition in federation.

But it is exceptional that a minority language which has not become a national official one should enjoy regional official status (French in the Aosta region, German in South Tyrol etc.). Most minorities either because of their smallness or because of the indifference or hostility of the central government, have to fight for rights of a much more elementary nature such as recognition of their language in municipal government, its use in primary and secondary public schools, on public signboards, and in the lower courts of justice.

One dimension which in the multinational state gives rise to little if any disputes but which in the nation state may become of paramount importance for the survival of national minorities is the unrestricted use of their language outside the governmental sphere -- e.g. in newspapers, books, magazines, in offices and in factories, in bookkeeping on shop-signs, and finally -- most important of all -- in private schools. This is the type of minority rights which I, in former (German) publications of mine have dubbed tolerance-oriented or acquiescent (dulgent) as against promotion-oriented laws (förderndes Sprachenrecht) providing for the use of the minority language in public institutions like public schools, courts, municipal government etc.

It has been the privilege of authoritarian states to violate the sphere of tolerance. France's Spain banned all printing in the Catalan language for a number of years, and the Soviet Union did the same to the Yiddish language.

A topical survey of the various possibilities existing in the area of minority languages would be a timely undertaking. In order not to sound (or even be) abstract, examples should be given from as many countries as possible. And besides those rights which protect languages as such we must not overlook others, the violation of which may also bring about the downfall of a language, e.g.:

a) the right of members of a speech community to live i.e. to be protected against genocide,

b) their right to retain their domicile i.e. to be protected against dispersal by means of mass-deportation or mass-expulsion,

c) their right not to be drowned in a tidal wave of artificially induced mass-immigration; this may happen if the government channels members of the dominant speech community into the region inhabited by the minority on a large scale and by means incompatible with the laws of normal economic growth,

d) their right not to have their territory and themselves handed over to a foreign government against their will, nor to be forced to tolerate the erection against their will, of their territory into a nominally sovereign puppet state (right of self-determination).

5.3 Minority Rights: Regional Case Studies

This is an area offering endless possibilities. Some topics are of particular interest for French-Canadians, e.g. the fate of French as one of the official languages of Louisiana (my description of 1940, numbering roughly 70 printed pages, seems never to have been discovered by North-American scholars), or the French-Acadian group in Northern Maine (a group which must not be confused with the 19th century immigrants from Quebec). The question of how to make Ottawa a truly bilingual city in turn directs our attention to the language problems of other capitals of federal or at least multinational states: New Delhi (three official languages), Berne (German only, but a gradual if slow giving-in to French-Swiss demands), Brussels (French and Dutch), Capetown (English and Afrikaans).

The Eskimos could be made the subject of a first case study to be undertaken by the C.I.R.B. We might restrict ourselves to those of Canada, or include those of Alaska and Greenland -- perhaps even those few who live in Soviet territory. The essay submitted to the R.C.B.B. by F.S. Vallee deals largely with the Indians and has but little to say on the Eskimos. The R.C.B.B. in vol. I (1967) of its final report announces (on page XVI) that no further studies on either Indians or Eskimos are scheduled to be done on behalf of the Commission.

The Eskimos lend themselves to a research project particularly well because:

a) within Canada they form one single speech community while the Indians are linguistically fragmented so that tracing down their language problems is a far more complex task; in all there are but two Eskimo languages, Yupik and Inupik,

b) a comparison between the policy pursued by Canadians, Danes, and Americans may prove interesting to many North Americans,

c) specific French Canadian sensibilities are involved because of the Eskimos in northern Quebec,

d) in view of the smallness of the group, investigations would be neither too difficult nor too time-consuming,

e) the Greenland variety of Inupik was the first indigenous New World Language systematically made over into a tool of both education and administration.

5.4 Linguistic Rights of Immigrant Groups

Since the days of the League of Nations it has been almost a ritual that at international conventions where rights of national and linguistic minorities were on the agenda some speakers from the Western Hemisphere would rise and object to such rights because the states of the Americas were bent upon seeing their immigrant groups give up their languages as fast as possible.

(On this subject Dr. Verdoodt spoke at the 6th World Congress of Sociologists in Evian 1966).

Some of the reluctance to recognize language rights of minority groups at the international level, could perhaps have been avoided, had a careful distinction always been made between immigrant languages and indigenous tongues. Puerto Rican immigrants in New York cannot demand for their MT the same rights as given to it in their home-island where Spanish is the indigenous tongue and reigns supreme.

But stating that immigrant languages should be given fewer rights than indigenous tongues does not mean that they should be given no rights at all. What is needed is a list of minimum rights to be granted to all immigrant minorities. To draw up this list would not be too complicated a task. Since immigrants (provided they have become naturalized) cannot demand any rights to which indigenous groups are not also entitled,the task is one of simple subtraction: list all rights due to indigenous minorities and then strike out those too precious to be given to immigrant groups. The outcome would become a magna (or rather parva) carta libertatum for immigrants and their children.

5.5 Survey of Public Libraries

I suggest sending out a questionnaire to as many public libraries as possible in both Canada and the U.S.A. inquiring about the approximate number of holdings in non-English (in Québec: non-French) languages. When preparing my book on nationality rights in the U.S.A. (1963) I found that the five libraries I approached responded most readily, and what is more, the figures they gave were startling with regard to both numbers of languages involved and of numbers of volumes on the shelves.

Such a systematic survey would be an easy task to be undertaken under expert guidance of course -- by a gifted graduate or post-graduate student. Conceivably the questionnaire would also inquire about the extent to which these non-English (in Québec: non-French) books are still in demand. The results would no doubt find a publisher -- perhaps through some association of North America (or U. S. A., or Canadian) libraries or librarians.

I recommend this investigation -- provided the C. B. B. has not already carried out such a survey -- because:

a) it is certain to yield interesting data,

b) within a very short time,

c) does not require much financial backing,

d) nor the hiring of a first-rate specialist,

in addition:

e) it is certain to find a publisher,

f) it will give the C. R. B. B. some publicity in librarian circles -- an important group of multiplicators -- and finally,

g) it will shed light on certain interethnic problems of this continent.

5.6 The 'Belgian Case'

This, like the preceding topic, is singled out for 'preferential treatment' because it would requiry only a slight effort on the part of the C. I. R. B. and at the same time may be expected to give it some good publicity among scholars, especially jurists and political scientists.

Belgian law forbids the use, in public schools, of a language other than the one of the speech area in which the school is situated. This means that in the Flemish part of the country, only Dutch is permitted, and in the "Walloon" part, only French.

In 1963 a number of French-speaking parents living in the Dutch speech area started a lawsuit before the European Human

Rights Commission and the European Court of Human Rights (in Strasbourg) requesting them to state that the above law and particularly some specific measures stemming from it constituted a violation of human rights and upheld the right of parents to have their children educated in their mother tongue. The court (presided over by France's leading expert Prof. Cassin) is likely to hand down its decision in the course of this year. Regardless of whether it will be in favor of or against the plaintiffs it is bound to have repercussions and to rouse emotions not only in Belgium but in other countries as well. (The printed documents pertaining to this lawsuit, popularly known as the 'Belgian Case', amount even now to many hundreds of printed pages.

The C.I.R.B. might be the legitimate channel through which the outcome of the litigation may be brought to the attention of Canada's scholars and statesmen.

There had been a similar lawsuit in Switzerland where the 'Ecole française' in Zurich asked for the right to have the offspring of French-speaking Swiss citizens attend the school but was turned down in 1965 by the Swiss Supreme Court in Lausanne on the grounds of the so-called 'territorial principle'. While this decision had only domestic significance it would be useful to report on it in the context of the Belgian case, especially because the Lausanne court was more rigid than the Strasbourg court in that it restricted even the freedom to conduct private schools in a language other than the regional official one.

5.7 Bilingualism in a Monolingual Society

The Bilingualizing School

The section that follows will contain a proposal which I consider to be of paramount importance. It is closely tied up with section 2.52 wherein I suggested a worldwide survey on the use of foreign languages ('other-tongues', OT_s) as media of instruction. I pointed out that such a survey would reveal two subcategories.

Subcategory 1: Exclusive use of the OT (except, at best, for the teaching of the mother tongue/as a branch of study).

Subcategory 2: Joint use of both OT and MT. The latter we have to break down by distinguishing between;

subcategory 2.1 Including cases where the OT, while a foreign tongue to many or most of the students, is the MT of a sizeable segment of the student body -- such a condition naturally makes it much easier to familiarize those for whom the language is an OT, with its use in the classroom -- after all they may have picked up a good deal of it on the school ground during recess, and they will be emotivated by the facility with which their 'otherethnic' classmates handle the language;

subcategory 2.2 The OT is the MT of not a single student (or at least of no more than 5% -- meaning 2 in a class of 40 students).

But we ought to narrow down the situation we have in mind by subdividing 2.2. We thus finally arrive at the following two subcategories:

2.21 The students, none (or almost none) of whom speak the OT natively, have a very strong or compelling motivation to learn it.

2.22 No compelling motivation is discernible. When and where do we find compelling motivation as envisaged in subcategory 2.21 ?

Prof. Lundgren in Montreal has stated the chances for genuine bilingualism in the following terms:"Le bilinguisme est déterminé par la mesure dans laquelle on doit vivre avec une seconde langue."Si l'on doit être bilingue on devient bilingue" (Le Devoir, 4 avril 1968, page 8).

This statement seems to epitomize the essence of what has been called functional bilingualism. There are at least two types of settings which supply strong motivation and distinctly favor the coming into being of functional bilingualism:

(I) A bilingual environment either at home (e.g. the father being a native speaker of French and the mother, of German), in the neighborhood, in the streets (playmates), in offices and factories (fellow workers) etc.

(II) For people living in a monolingual home and neighborhood: the awareness that they belong to a linguistic community constituting but a minority within the nation at large and that in terms of careers, and general upward mobility, their future hinges upon their being able to master the dominant language -- the OT.

In the case of a small minority (below let us say either the 5% and/or the 100.000 limit) this motivation will influence all the members of both the upper and middle strata.

(III) For people living in a monolingual nation state: awareness that their MT, while a highly developed standard language, is not yet fully equipped to cope with the exigencies of modern life -- technology, the sciences, etc., so that it obviously has to be supplemented by the OT -- the case of a number of Asiatic peoples with old but archaic standard languages, but also of e.g. the Amhara of Ethiopia.

After having discarded all other subcategories, we may now concentrate upon the one numbered 2.22. Here we are dealing with a monolingual population living in a nation state of their own and having a fully (not only 'highly') developed standard language, with no or only relatively small minority groups speaking other languages than the dominant one, or with minority groups which, while quite sizeable, are living in some very remote part of the country, or which are composed of immigrants whose language is not considered indigenous, and therefore not held in great respect, or which are considered backward and culturally stagnant.

Cases in point are the dominant groups in all major or medium-sized nation states of Europe, the bulk of American citizens, the Japanese, the Australians, and last but not least those Anglo-Canadians who live west of Ottawa and who still consider themselves members of a monolingual society if not of a monolingual nation. For the average Italian, Swede, German or Frenchman (in France), and most of all for the average 'Anglo-Saxon' there seems to be little or no utilitarian motivation that would induce him to try to learn to speak two languages let alone acquire near-equal facility in both.

Here one of the central problems of bilingualism comes up: is it possible to make bilingual, to 'bilingualize' (to coin a bold term) a community that has no self-evident motivation for such a transformation ?

In answer to a circular letter sent out by the C.I.R.B. early this year and asking to name desirable research topics, the question here broached stands out as being among the few that have been given priority by a great many respondents. Thus Dr. D.G. Dugas, Ann Arbor, mentions "the feasibility of bilingualism in a monolingual society" and "the definition of a bilingual education" among the desirable goals. Mrs. Margaret J. Jackson, Berkeley, speaks of "studies concerned with teaching other subjects in a foreign language, e.g. World History in Spanish; Botany in French". Another aspect is taken up by C.F. Zuazaga from Puerto Rico's Dept. of Education who speaks of "preventing the forgetting of the 2nd language due to lack of every day use". Prof. Peter Strevens in Essex (U.K.) stresses "the relationship between cognitive growth and bilingualism" involving the question whether "bilingualism...can detract from the content of education, and the development of ideas, to a preoccupation with purely linguistic form".

The German, Dr. W.H. Wieczerkowski, mentions (interalia) "the problems of instruction in a 2nd language, which is the weaker one..., social and emotional factors in 2nd language acquisition in unilingual (FLES)...communities...motivation for learning a 2nd language".

H.W. Nostrand in Seattle lists (interalia) "the social and cultural context of the languages taught with the aim of producing bilinguals or multilinguals".

Mrs. S. Ohannessian of the Washington (D.C.) Center for A.L. speaks in a general way about "bilingual education in a monolingual education system", thereby referring to the need for immigrants in a monolingual environment as well as for monolinguals desirous of becoming, or perhaps ordered to become, bilinguals.

There are two approaches to an investigation of this problem: an abstract, rather academic discussion of what may or may not be possible in this field, and a pragmatic approach which first of all asks what is being done in this area at the present time. I suggest choosing the 2nd approach and tackling the task by taking up and analyzing the data assembled by means of the inventory suggested in sec. 2.52 of this report.

To give an indication of what we may expect I will point out some regions and areas that would be worthwhile investigating:

a) There are certain countries where the population is completely monolingual in early childhood ('monopaidoglossic' I have called it), and where the mother-tongue is one of the major languages of the world but where by means of 'bilingualizing' schools all literate adults become, or at least are supposed to have become, active bilinguals. Examples in point are Arabic-speaking Lebanon -- on which we have the outstanding monograph by Abou, (Paris 1962), and German-speaking Luxembourg, which is the subject of one chapter by Verdoodt (1968). Here German is the only language used in the classroom during the first school year while French enters the race as an additional subject in the 2nd year, then becomes a medium of instruction in intermediate years and finally in the uppermost grades of the secondary school, it outdistances German.

b) In the Soviet Union, chiefly in the Russian Soviet Republic, there are (since 1948!) numerous schools which specialize in teaching through the medium of just one OT, usually English, German, or French. In 1962 there were 700 such schools. As in Luxembourg, grade one remains fully monolingual, but in grade two the OT is introduced as a branch of study and later on it is used as a medium of instruction alongside Russian. The children in this way are supposed to become truly bilingual.

c) In the U.S.A. the FLES-movement has probably nowhere achieved similar results because it restricts itself to the traditional 3-5 hours per week pattern. But there are isolated attempts to go beyond this fixed formula. In the state of Virginia, courses in history were taught in French and Spanish in nine high schools during 1965-66 and 1966-67. The students enrolled in this program already had a good background in one of these two languages. These classes were organized as part of a pilot study in the Research Division of the State Department of Education. Pre-testing and post-testing were conducted in order to ascertain the amount of progress achieved by the students in both language and history. The results of this testing are currently being analyzed, and a report on the entire study will be available sometime during the summer.

Courses are offered in World History, (French). The World in the Twentieth Century (French), History of France (French), and History of Latin America (Spanish). Several of these classes are continuing even though the pilot study itself has ended.

Another notable experiment has been conducted at college level. In 1963 the University of the Pacific set up 'Elbert Covell College', where a novel inter-American education program is offered with Spanish as the chief teaching medium. The venture, however, differs from the Virginia experiment because (a) the student body is of mixed linguistic background, with many students coming from Latin America, (b) English is reduced to a minor role.

Since 1953 , M.I.T. has taught some of its courses in the humanities in French. In strict contrast to Covell College practice, no native French-speaking students have ever been permitted to enroll in this program. On quizzes and examinations the students (96 in 1964-1965) may use either French or English, but essays must be in English (cf. W.F. Bottiglia in MLJ, 49, October 1965, pp. 354-358 and his letter dated May 15, 1968).

In the Scandinavian countries (and in a good many other countries with a medium-sized population having a lesser known MT), it is common practice for scholars to write some of their literary production, in a foreign language -- usually German in the past, while nowadays English is preferred.

During the period 1958-65, books (excl. of translations) were published in the following languages in Sweden:

Swedish	28,650	
English	5,706	(16%)
German	682	(2%)
French	185	
Other	425	
	35,648	

What are the teaching methods by means of which the inhabitants of originally monolingual ('monopaidoglossic') countries like Sweden, Luxembourg, Lebanon became bilingual to such a degree as to be able to write books in the OT without affecting their ability to express themselves in their native tongue ? Perhaps a number of scholars from different continents could be brought together in a symposium to express their views on what may be termed 'bilingualizing schools'.

The lesson to be drawn from these examples is that it may be possible to become bilingual in monolingual communities without apparent utilitarian motivation if foreign language teaching is greatly intensified. In a monolingual country where the students receive up to 3/4 (75%) of their secondary school instruction in an OT many of them will have an instinctive desire to put this skill to use in later life. They may then start writing articles, fiction, and perhaps even letters and poetry (Luxembourg!): in other words, their bilingualism may become productive. The next generation, confronted with this widespread use of the OT among their elders, will want to have access to this segment of the cultural life of the nation. Utilitarian motivation will no longer be lacking. In short, bilingualism which originally was cultural rather than functional, will have become 'functionalized', once active use of the OT has become an established intranational, intrasocietal custom.

It goes without saying that all this raises a number of vital questions as to whether this artificially created near-functional bilingualism may not be harmful in some respects. Would it not overtax the slow language-learners (who may be otherwise bright and even brilliant students ?) Would it be possible to find, train, and adequately pay teachers who are able to teach e.g. biology through the medium of an OT ? Moreover, there seems to remain an unmistakeable difference in outlook and attitude between native speakers of Swedish in Sweden and native speakers of English in the U.S.A., with the latter feeling much less motivated to become bilingual. The basic question however is whether the teaching of the OT is sufficiently intensified (and can create a situation which supplies motivation). At any rate, in this section of my report nothing is 'recommended' but a study of the problem, especially from a strictly Canadian point of view. For it seems that among French-Canadians a major apprehension with regard to 'biculturalism' is that it will remain a one-sided proposition and that English-Canadians (outside Quebec) will and can never be induced to become proficient in French on a large scale.

5.8 Bilingual Universities

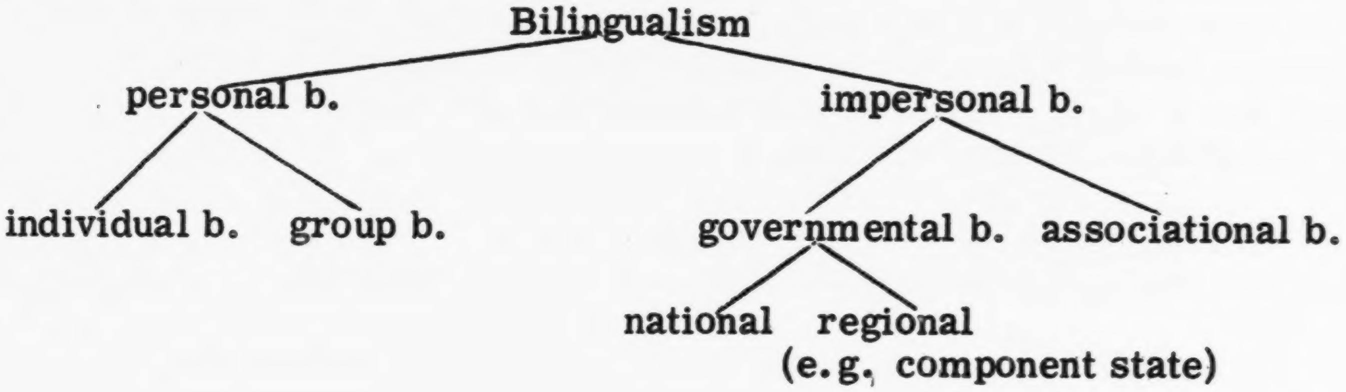
All that has been said about 'bilingualizing' schools concerns mainly secondary schools and only secondarily elementary schools and higher education. Among bilingual universities there are probably some where the students are supposed to be already fluent in two languages before enrolling, meaning that these universities have left the task of 'bilingualizing' to the secondary schools.

In section 2.52 I recommended that universities be included in the survey on the use of foreign language as media of instruction. But they could just as well become the subject of a separate (and of course much less difficult) survey. In any case an inventory indicating WHERE bilingual institutions may be found in higher education could be followed up by a survey on HOW it is being done. Perhaps the two questions might even be handled by a single combined questionnaire, though I rather doubt this. But at least one basic question might be asked already in the context of 2.52: that is whether 'bilingual university' means that all students have a chance -- or are even expected -- to attend courses in both languages or whether we have two completely separate sections, the one making exclusive use of language A and the other of language B, but the two having little more in common than the campus grounds, the president and certain technical and administrative facilities, (plus, perhaps a shared world outlook). Professor Louis Painchaud, in his report to the RCBB on several bilingual institutions of higher learning in Canada, has emphatically stated the need for further research in this particular field (cf. Painchaud, 1968).

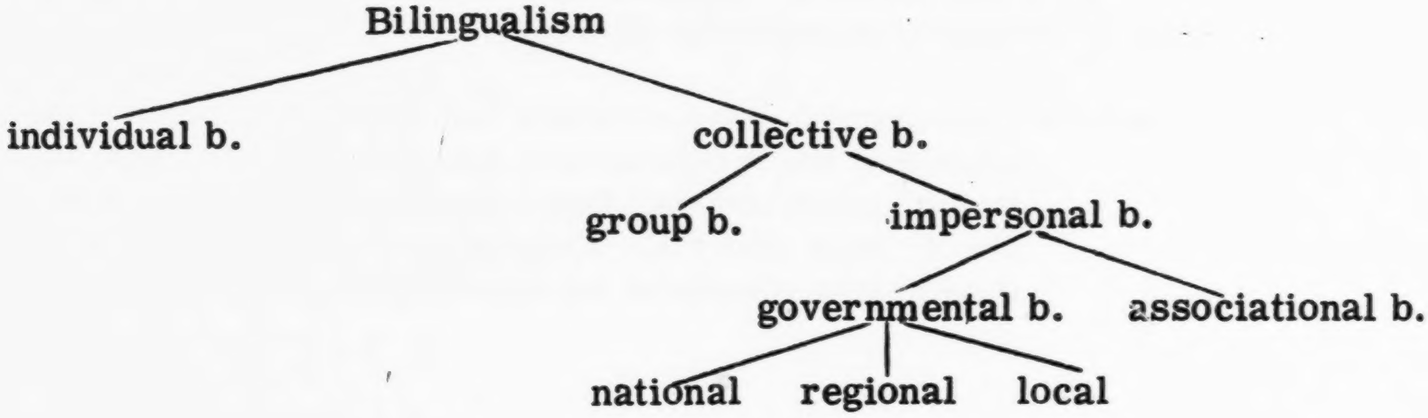
6.0 Socio-cultural Bilingualism

6.1 Typology

Existing typologies of bilingualism, to the best of my knowledge, derive their categories largely from individual bilingualism. Also none of those I know is exhaustive. In the paper I submitted to the Moncton Seminar I tried to introduce and discuss some new dimensions, such as the impact of mass media on a bilingual population, significance of literary productivity in a second (acquired) tongue, the dialect-vs. language relationship, and the possibility of a highly impersonal bilinguality within a given polity, which involves merely official publications, some high-ranking bureaucrats, and a considerable staff of translators while the bulk of the population may remain completely monolingual (e.g. the case of Switzerland). With regard to this particular aspect, I drew up the following classification in Moncton:


Bilingualism
personal b.
impersonal b.
individual b.
group b.
governmental b.
associational b.
national
regional
(e.g. component state)

We might instead break down the same phenomena in the following way:


Bilingualism
individual b.
collective b.
group b.
impersonal b.
governmental b.
associational b.
national
regional
local

But there are a number of other distinctions to be made such as receptive (as distinct from passive) bilingualism, productive bilingualism (referring to literary creativity and not coterminous with active bilingualism) and implicit bilingualism.

I propose to try to elaborate on this during the last weeks of my stay in Canada.

6.2 Language Maintenance and Language Shift

6.21 Psychological Effects of Language Legislation

Section 6.2 will be devoted to problems of both language maintenance and shift. Problems concerning either maintenance, shift, stability or instability, will be dealt with under 6.3 and 6.4.

It seems easy to sum up in a few words the popular notion as to what impact language legislation may have on the attitude of people toward their mother tongue. If the language is treated well, and if those who speak it are permitted and actively encouraged to cultivate it, then:

(a) the language will live on indefinitely;
(b) those who speak it will be happy and contented.

If instead the language is stifled, banned from public life, hunted down, and silenced, then:

(c) the language is doomed to die.

Actually none of these three conclusions (a-c) is cogent, none is always confirmed by the facts.

(ad a:) There are instances where constructive language policy rendered the minority that benefited from it apathetic. Being convinced that there was nothing left to bother about, they lost their former alertness and allowed themselves slowly to be assimilated.

(ad b:) There are instances where concessions made to the members of a minority, instead of contenting them,simply whetted their appetite and caused them to make exaggerated further exaggerated demands.

(ad c:) Finally, persecution can sometimes break the will of a linguistic group. But quite often it may kindle a flame of hurt pride and resentment, and create open or at least secret resistance.

The whole problem being more complex than is usually surmised, it might be appropriate to have someone delve into it deeply in order to provide us with new insights which may make the effects of future measures somewhat more predictable than they have been so far.

6.22 Language Loyalty and Nationalism

It is often believed that it takes some kind of nationalism -- whatever that term is held to imply -- to keep menaced languages alive and that conversely nationalism (in its traditional, ethnicity-centered meaning) implies the stressing of language loyalty.

Neither proposition is wholly correct, as Weinreich (1953) was the first to point out -- at least on this side of the ocean. Ethnicity-centered nationalism has as a rule fostered the holding on to the language of the forefathers with the desire to see it grow and unfold. But there are notable exceptions, such as Irish 19th Century nationalism which while ethnicity-centered in nature and in regard to its goals, did disregard the Irish language as a quantité négligeable -- at least until ca. 1890. Far more frequent is the case of ethnic groups clinging tenaciously to their language without betraying nationalistic feeling, let alone consciousness. As a tentative suggestion I submit that there may be four types of language loyalty, namely:

A) A tribal, preconscious way of preserving a language and the way of life that goes with it -- attachment to the language becomes looser as the ways of life are crumbling under 'western' -- including Marxist-influence.

B) Language is consciously valued not as an end in itself, nor as a means of contact with the outside world but rather as a means of insulation -- as certain sects in North America -- notably the Amish, Hutterites, and Dukhobors -- who try to shut themselves off from those around them.

C) Language is highly valued as a means of collective self-expression, as the group's main highway into contemporaneous culture -- but the language is viewed as something 'subnational', as subordinated to the basic framework of a nationhood that is not language-oriented. This seems to be characteristic of most major speech communities of India; it may also have been typical of the French Acadians, at least until very recently. The term 'linguism' -- current in present-day India -- seems to be an appropriate designation.

D) Language consciousness finally engenders some variety (there are many!) of modern ethnicity-centered nationalism.

A factual analysis of attitudes towards languages prevalent among Canada's Eskimos (A-type), Amish (B-type), Ukrainians (C-type), and French-Canadians (D-type) might help clarify certain controversial issues, esp. with regard to those minorities which are not among the founders of the Canadian federation.

One way of going about the problem outlined above might be to have someone write up the history of (at least) two or three language movements, one of them decidedly'nationalistic' (e.g. the Afrikaans movement), one 'subnational' (e.g. Acadians, Retoromansh-speakers), one religion-centered.

6.23 Life Expectancy of Urban Immigrant Languages

The question discussed in section 5.4 of whether immigrant groups should be permitted to found schools in which their language is taught, and used, is frequently, or almost always lumped together with the question of whether it is desirable that their language should be perpetuated in the country of their adoption. Since the second question is usually answered in the negative the conclusion is drawn that they should not be allowed to have bilingual schools of their own let alone monolingual, mother-tongue-based schools.

Actually there is a high probability that, as a rule, in the milieu of industrialized big cities, no immigrant language has a chance to survive for good, regardless of whether or not it is being taught in schools. In the course of the last 12 months I perused three highly specialized studies (Sostres 1963, Mitchell 1967, Thériault 1960) on:

a) the immigration of Spanish-speaking ("Castilian") workmen into Catalonia,

b) the immigration of Korean workmen into Japan,

c) the immigration of French-Canadians into New England (U.S.A.)

The three cases had this in common, that in each of them quite a number of circumstances seemed to be distinctly favorable to survival. Yet in the case of each group the eventual outcome was a language shift; the immigrants became absorbed by the native population -- though in the case of New England only after 3 or 4 generations.

Comparative studies should disclose whether we are dealing with what would amount to a sociolinguistic 'law'. If this should turn out to be the case, we still would have to allow for a number of exceptions. If, for example, the immigrants become the overwhelming majority their assimilation becomes well-nigh impossible; such is the situation of the Italians in the Tyrolean city of Bozen (Bolzano) where they formed 3% in 1910 but 80% in 1960, and then there is the even greater predominance of the Chinese in Singapore. Furthermore, retentiveness as a rule will even be stronger if the two speech communities are separated not only by language but also by racial, religious, and occupational differences. -- a situation not seldom found in Asia. On-the-spot studies of assimilation (or non-assimilation) in Asian cities like Madras, Rangoon, Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur, etc. would have to be among the next steps to be made in this field.

There is also the question of whether immigration into a bilingual city tends to slow down the assimilation process among immigrants speaking neither of the two indigenous (and probably locally official) languages! In other words, there are 5, 000 Poles in bilingual Montreal more likely to preserve their language than 5, 000 who settled down in monolingual Toronto. An additional question, which weights heavily on many French-Canadians and Flemings, is whether eventual assimilation will work in favor of the language of the surrounding speech area (e.g. Dutch in Brussels, French in Montreal) or of the language which is held to be more prestigious in the city itself (e.g. French in Brussels, English in Montreal). Here the concept of power configuration comes in as set forth by Schermerhorn at the 58th congress of the American Sociological Association ("Towards a General Theory of Minority Groups", s. Schermerhorn 1953).

6.24 Urbanization

The impact of urbanization on language maintenance frequently is quite fatal. More and more members of non-dominant (or co-dominant but numerically weaker) linguistic groups are drawn from their farms or rural workshops to the cities.

Visualizing this in world-wide perspective we observe three basic configurations:

No. 1: The group until quite recently was completely rural; it either disposed of no cities at all or had lost them to the dominant languages before large-scale industrialization began. This is the case e.g. of the native speakers of Irish, Welsh, and Breton who now migrate to cities like Dublin, Cardiff, or Brest, where their language died out long ago, or of the speakers of Romansh in Switzerland and of Landsmaal in Norway whose language has never been used among an urban population. Here urbanization may become fatal to the language in question.

No. 2: The group from the beginning settled not only on farms, hamlets, villages and small towns, but founded sizeable cities where its language always held sway. If this urban element is strengthened by a flow of incoming migrants coming for example from a rural parish into Quebec City, then a great many problems arise -- but they have few sociolinguistic implications apart from those of sociolect, old or new. They do not have to adapt themselves to a second language but they have to learn to adapt to urban living.

No. 3: Portions of the group have been living for a long time in bi-ethnic cities like Montreal and Ottawa. If their numbers are increased by a sudden inflow from rural areas, then the problem arises whether their coming means an increase not only in numbers but also in vigour. I need not now dwell on this much-discussed issue which is at the root and bottom of much French-Canadian unrest. Here bilingualism and biculturalism constitute two clearly interlocked but at the same time unmistakebly separate issues.

6.3 Stable Bilingualism

6.31 Co-existence of Two Linguistic Groups Within Voluntary Organizations

On behalf of the R.C.B.B. Professor Vincent Lemieux (Laval University) is preparing in collaboration with Professor Meisel (University of Montreal), a report on interethnic relations within certain major voluntary organizations in Canada and we had a chance to read his preliminary introduction.

Additional work along this line should be possible. Perhaps a new dimension could be opened up if we take one Canadian organization -- let us say, a federation of teachers, physicians, or lawyers -- investigate it carefully 'on the spot', that is chiefly at its national headquarters and at the main office of its Quebec branch, and then on the basis of our findings submit questions, in writing, to main offices outside Canada in let us say Belgium and Switzerland. We shall in this way learn about different solutions found for nearly identical problems.

In this way we might learn whether the features we met with in Canada are typical of bi-ethnic associations generally, or are characteristic of those in Canada alone.

6.32 Bilingualism and the Work Sphere Domain

The significance of language maintenance, in the work sphere domain, formerly considered less important than maintenance in the domains of family, church, and school, readily attracted my attention. I am possibly the first author to have devoted a special article to its analysis (cf. Kloss 1927).

Canada and especially the French Canadian community offer a fertile field for studies in the work sphere domain. An enlightening study might be written (if it does not already exist) on the role "Les Caisses Desjardins" have played in the past in protecting a considerable segment of the work sphere against the inroads of English. Perhaps this would be done best by comparing the role of French within the Desjardins movement with what it is or has been playing within the framework of kindred Canadian cooperative movements with less outspoken 'ethno-political' ambitions.

In view of French-Canadian complaints about the predominance of English in many segments of the business life of Quebec, especially in Montreal, a comparative study on the conditions existing, in Belgium, especially in Brussels, might be of interest. Such an investigation might be restricted to very specific segments, e.g. bigfinance corporations, certain leading industrial enterprises, or the higher ranks of the army which in the present context falls under the category of 'work sphere'. Brazeau (1958) has also initiated studies on Hydro-Quebec.

6.33 Co-existence of Two Linguistic Groups Within Electoral Districts

This is a topic advanced by Professor Vincent Lemieux, and one which probably lends itself easily to fieldwork, especially in a city like Montreal, but maybe even in the municipalities of Sillery, and Montcalm, at Quebec City. (Cf. also Professor Peter Leslie's report to the R.C.B.B., now published in book-form, 1968).

6.34 Pressure Groups and Interethnic Tensions

This too is a topic brought up by Professor Vincent Lemieux, but one which is probably more difficult to explore (but which may be also more enlightening). It should be kept in mind as a future project; the R. C. B.B. seems not to have busied itself with this topic.

6.35 Pre-institutional and Institutional Aspects of Bi-ethnic Co-existence in a Metropolitan Environment

It was Professor L. Dion who broached this subject for discussion. Municipal life, including those aspects that are directly affected by the co-existence of two speech groups, may be divided into two main spheres, namely:

(I) the official one comprising all activities of municipal government as well as local level activities of the federal and (or provincial) state governments and their agencies.

(II) a non-official one comprising the spheres of private business, the church, all sorts of associations, and last but not least, the home. Basic trends in both spheres may differ sharply: French may make headway within the framework of governmental activities while still yielding to the onslaught of English in the business world. A comparison between Ottawa and Montreal would prove to be instructive, especially after Prof. MacRae's book on the language problems of Ottawa is published. (Cf. MacRae 1969).

6.36 'Bilinguisme de promotion' and 'bilinguisme de concession'

Spokesmen of the French-speaking community in Belgium have dubbed the proficiency in both Dutch (MT) and French (OT) as practiced among the Flemings a 'bilinguisme de promotion' which widens their mental outlook and enables them to communicate with many countries. Conversely proficiency in both French (MT) and Dutch (OT), among the Walloons is said to be a 'bilinguisme de concession' or even 'bilinguisme de résignation' based on governmental decrees they cannot dodge and the impossibility to advance as civil servants or army officers without having passed an examination in Dutch.

It is easy to see that there is a striking similarity with certain psychological phenomena in Canada.

Here, too, many members of the English ethnic group seem to harbor a feeling that to study the OT (French) is a legal requirement not in keeping with their actual needs, while in the French ethnic group there is certainly no doubt concerning the usefulness and indispensability of a sound knowledge of English. This might be borne out (or refuted) by tests applied to both students, and former students, from the two ethnic groups, who have enjoyed about the same amount of formal schooling in the OT, and who otherwise are living under comparable conditions. Conceivably, the effect the difference in motivation has on the mastery of the OT may turn out to be a measurable one.

6.37 Technical and Vocational Schools for the Numerically Weaker Co-Dominant Group

Whether two ethnic groups are equally well equipped with technical, professional, and vocational schools depends not only on the good intentions of the government and on the political power wielded by either group but also on the numerical strength of either. In Switzerland the 40, 000 speakers of Romansh, in spite of an abundance of good will on the part of central and state government are simply not numerous enough (and too geographically widespread) to set up a secondary school of their own. The 180, 000 or so members of the Italian ethnic group have several secondary schools of their own, but even their numerical strength does not warrant the founding of a university where Italian would be the teaching medium.

In Canada, the citizens of French extraction can, of course, maintain their own universities, colleges as well as technical and professional schools. But in view of their numerical inferiority, and of Anglo-Saxon predominance in a number of important areas of the economic life, it is not out of the question that even today there exist some few highly specialized areas for which there are only English language schools, so that a French-Canadian who plans a career in this particular field has to do his studies in English.

I am thinking especially of technical schools teaching a single highly specialized trade, e.g. the tinsmith trade. In a number of instances the "schooling" may form part of an apprenticeship. Some firms are known to teach their apprentices in English even though a majority may be native speakers of French. A recent news item in "Le Soleil" (May 29, 1968) mentioned that in Quebec there are far too few, i.e. only two schools specializing in multicopying: "On a déploré l'absence presque totale d'écoles de mécanographie, destinées à former des analystes et des programmeurs. Seulement deux écoles de mécanographie existeraient dans toute la région de Québec. On voit là un excellent débouché pour les jeunes qui sont en quête d'une spécialisation où existe peu de concurrence. On prévoit aussi que si notre région ne veut pas être engloutie un jour sous la puissance économique de Montréal, elle devra se maintenir à l'avant-garde de l'évolution du traitement électronique des informations par ordinateurs".

Since some of these schools and courses may not even be registered, a survey in this area would be extremely difficult, but at the same time it would be highly rewarding. Apart from revealing some specific and immediate needs of the French-Canadians in this country, it would tell us something about the dangers structurally inherent in modern civilization where the ever increasing degree of specialization makes it ever more difficult for the numerically weaker groups to keep in step with their numerically stronger countrymen.

6.4 Replacive Bilingualism (see also 6.52)

6.41 Dialect Survival -- the Problems of 'Roofless Dialects'

Replacive bilingualism -- an unstable configuration where the dominant language is tending to supersede and eventually replace the mother tongue -- is usually thought of as a bipolar juxtaposition with one language becoming weakened to the point where it finally dies out and the other getting stronger until it becomes the sole survivor.

Actually the situation is frequently more complex in that we are dealing with a tri- or even quadrilateral relationship between:

I receding standard language;
II dialect of the receding standard language;
III victorious standard language;
IV dialect of victorious standard language.

Thus in Alsace the struggle is going on between (I) Standard German, (II) Pennsylvanish or 'Pennsylvania Dutch', (a subvariety of the Polatine dialect), and (III) English. In Slesvig the competition was between (I) Standard German, (II) Low Saxon, (a dialectized sister-tongue of German), (III) Standard Danish, (IV) the Jutish dialect of Danish.

Quite frequently it will be found that in the case of replacive bilingualism the local dialect of the defeated tongue will be much slower to yield ground than the standard tongue itself. Eastern Pennsylvania is a classical case in point: the last traces of standard German disappeared around 1920 but the Pennsylvanish dialect while no longer vigorous is by no means dead.

We find similar instances all over Europe. In East Prussia and Upper Silesia the local Polish dialects outlived standard Polish. In Carinthian, an Austrian province, we find villages where a Slovenian dialect is spoken while standard Slovenian, rejected by the local population, is virtually unknown. In a certain corner of Southwestern Hungary (Übermurgebiet in German), until World War I a Slovene dialect was spoken while standard Slovenian was a foreign language. In Corsica, standard Italian today is nothing but a foreign, even alien language, while the local vernacular, a subvariety of the Tuscan dialect, is still fully alive.

In North America, the Acadian dialect has outlived standard French in Southwestern Louisiana. In parts of the prairie provinces the Low Saxon ("Plautdietsch") dialect of the Mennonites probably is being retained longer than standard German.

In some cases we may be dealing with areas where the standard language never gained a foothold at all, such is the case of the hinterland of Dunkerque (France) where the speakers of the local Flemish dialect never got a chance to learn standard Dutch (the so-called A.B.N.). In the so-called Carpatho-Ukraine, standard Ukrainian was unknown before 1918 and won out only after 1945.

In these and numberless other instances the local dialects either never were, or are no longer under the protecting 'roof' of the standard language. We might therefore speak of 'roofless' dialects (cf. Kloss 1952, p. 21).

The phenomenon deserves close investigation which could lead to a number of questions.

I. In language statistics, should the speakers of 'roofless' dialects be enumerated separately? In a way, it would be misleading to include them with speakers of the standard language and thereby treat the Pennsylvania Dutchmen as members of the worldwide 'German' speech community.

II. Dialects stand in need of enlarging their 'world-hoard' to keep pace with the changes of the 20th century. How do the speakers of roofless dialects react to this necessity -- by borrowing from a victorious unrelated standard language or by creating loan translations? Do they coin completely new words (especially compounds) or do they assign new meaning to terms of long standing?

III. It seems obvious that such a surviving dialect is unfit to become the chief medium of instruction in primary, let alone secondary schools. But that does not imply that the school should disregard it altogether. At a time when educators all over the world come to the conclusion that wherever possible the child should start school using the parental tongue, the problem of the treatment of such roofless dialects on the part of teachers is ripe for a reappraisal.

IV. We often find that a roofless dialect is more likely than a 'roofed dialect' to develop a literature which is not wholly confined to the realm of belles lettres. Thus a biography of Martin Luther, a history of the War of 1870-71 and several magazines were written in the Polish dialect of East Prussia; a New Testament and other religious literature were written in the Slovenian dialect of pre-1918 Hungary, and an almanach, catechism and several magazines appeared in the Dutch ("Flemish") dialect of Northern France.

The four gospels, lyrics of a high quality as well as some attempts at non-narrative prose were attempted in Pennsylvanish (Pennsylvania Dutch). There is now a faint-hearted attempt underway to reshape the Corsican dialect into an independent language in present-day Corsica.

These are phenomena the investigation of which gives promise of yielding a considerable harvest. In North America, a survey of the role of 'Plautdietsch', a Low Saxon dialect, in the present-day literary and religious life of the Mennonites (e.g. their radio broadcasts) would give some results; so would an on-the-spot study of the role of the Acadian dialect in Louisiana broadcasts.

6.42 Sex Attitudes Towards Replacive Bilingualism

It is not easy to make a general statement as to which sex is more likely to abandon the ancestral language in exchange for a new one. We have reports such as the one by Diebold which states that in a certain Indian community 80% of the bilinguals were males (Diebold 1964, p. 500). On the other hand, Professor Pierre Ruelle of Brussels, in a recently mimeographed paper on the decline of the Walloon dialect in Belgium (1968), pointed out that among rural adolescents almost 70% of boys still use it habitually but almost none of girls.

These two seemingly conflicting observations are perhaps to be explained best by the assumption that as bilingualism sets in and an unstable situation arises the men are for obvious reasons the first ones who have to make use of the new language while the women because of lack of contact with the outer world (but also for psychological reasons) learn it very slowly. Once the stage has been reached where bilingualism has become general, and the intruding language is considered more fashionable, more cultured and more refined etc... the women are more apt to be conformists.

That, however, is not more than a mere conjecture, and a number of case studies would be needed to verify its validity. In Canada such studies could easily be carried out among the Gaelic speaking Scots of Cape Breton, N.S., among the Germans around Kitchener, Ontario or in the prairie provinces, and also among some French-speaking communities in various parts of Canada which are surrounded by English-speakers. The French language islands give promise of yielding particularly revealing results because there are some such groups that are completely assimilated (e.g. in parts of Nova Scotia) and others which are still vigorous with only some traces of bilingualism which in the long run may become a replacive type of bilingualism should the present climate which has become favourable to survival, cease to exist.

6.43 Parallel Case Studies in Assimilation South and North of the Canadian Border

Nearly all immigrant groups that settled in Canada have their counterparts in the United States. This statement holds for 'old stock' and 'new stock' alike, among the Germans, Scandinavians, Czechs, as well as among Italians, Poles and Ukrainians. In most cases the group south of the border is more numerous, but in a few instances (Icelanders, Hutterite Germans and perhaps Ukrainians) the reverse seems to be true.

It might be useful to examine developments that took place on both sides of the border by studying e.g. the process of assimilation that was, or is, going on among

Ukrainians in the U.S.A. and Canada,
Italians in the U.S.A. and Canada,
Icelanders in the U.S.A. and Canada,
Norwegians in the U.S.A. and Canada.

In some cases we would be better to single out a subgroup such as the Germans speaking Mennonites in Manitoba and Kansas, or the Germans speaking Hutterites in Alberta and South Dakota/ Montana.

6.44 Mass Media

The impact of the mass media on receding languages has often been discussed but seldom in a systematic fashion. Leaders of the French minorities in western Canada fear the inroads caused by 'English' television which daily invades their homes. Where in former decades the demand was for French (or bilingual) schools, the cry today is for both French schools and French television. But wherever a minority managed to set up its own television network, or to obtain from the dominant language group a fair number of weekly hours for the minority tongue, television was soon felt to exert a stabilizing and even strengthening influence on the weaker tongue as it did in Wales. Moreover, while television broadcasts in a minority language may be said to be an expensive venture and therefore out of reach for many minority groups, the reverse is true with regard to radio broadcasts. They can be introduced at low cost for even tiny linguistic groups, many of which lack a written literature in their mother-tongue. Radio broadcasts, therefore, cannot be said to pose as great a threat to the "lesser tongues" as does television. It should be remembered that in the U.S.A. there were 1622 regular foreign language broadcasts in 37 tongues in 1960 (for details see Fishman, ed.: 1966, pp. 76-77 and Kloss 1963, pp. 59-60).

So the role of mass media -- including, of course, films, records, the cheap illustrated magazines, and even pocket books -- deserves closer attention in Canada, as well as in other multilingual countries.

6.5 Bilingualism, Interference, Language Distance

6.51 Semicommunication via 'Inherent Bilingualism'

In a considerable number of instances two standard languages may be so closely related that had they remained unwritten, linguists would not hesitate to call them dialects which together constitute one single (though unstandardized) linguistic unit to be called a 'language'. Actually any two vernaculars *could undergo a process* of elaboration (known as "Ausbau" in German) which, from the sociologist's point of view, could make them over into two independent units (cf. Kloss 1967).

Wherever two such languages exist side by side as do, e.g.,

Danish and Norwegian (Bokmal)
Slovak and Czech
Bulgarian and Macedonian
Catalan and Occitan
Faroese and Icelandic
Scotch Gaelic and Irish Gaelic
Kirundi and Kinyarwanda
Panjabi and Hindi,

we may assume them to be more or less mutually intelligible. This means that a person growing up speaking Czech is ipso facto passively bilingual with regard to Slovak. This kind of bilingualism is thus implicit or inherent in certain languages. In my Moncton paper I speak of "implicit passive bilingualism". Perhaps, 'inherent bilingualism' would be a better term because use of the term 'implicit' makes us wonder what 'explicit bilingualism' would be.

Even some languages which are usually considered to be abstand languages by linguists, i.e. languages in their own right, such as Spanish and Portuguese, or German and Dutch, may be so closely related that a minimum degree of mutual intelligibility can be established.

A study of inherent bilingualism might cover several aspects:

1) The degree of mutual intelligibility between Portuguese and Gallego and even Czech and Slovak which are probably much more closely related than Portuguese and Spanish, let alone German and Dutch.

2) The degree of 'mutualness' -- a speaker of Danish finds it easier to understand a Norwegian than vice versa, and the same seems to hold for the speakers of Portuguese and Afrikaans as against those of Spanish and Dutch.

3) The pedagogical aspect involved. In the case of sister-tongues such as those mentioned above the problem of foreign language teaching may require a new approach -- or may require a readaptation of customary methods. It would seem unnecessary to teach Danish to a Norwegian in the same fashion as one would teach English, or French. The fundamental proposition involved here is that it may be sufficient to awaken, or simply strengthen a dormant knowledge of the second language so that e.g. a Czech and a Slovak could communicate by each speaking his own language. Reinforcement of the other language may take place by exchanging letters, or listening to the other man's voice on the radio or the taperecorder.

In the Scandinavian countries where we have much inherent bilingualism among the speakers of Swedish, Danish and Norwegian (Bokmal) much spadework has been done in the schools along this line. It would be a worthwhile task to have some Scandinavian educators report of their experiences so that other nations might benefit from them and apply them to their own particular situations. Much that is pertinent will be found in Einar Haugen's paper on "Semi-communication" (see Haugen 1966) from which the title of this section has been taken.

6.52 Language Shift and Language Distance

Is language shift more frequent or does it come about faster in cases where the linguistic minority speaks a language which is closely related to the dominant tongue? At first sight many observations seem to favor this view; note the rapid large-scale assimilation of immigrant groups numbering many millions, such as the Italians in 'Latin' Argentina and the Germans and Scandinavians in 'Anglo-Saxon' America. In Spain Castilian-speaking workmen moving into the Catalan-speaking region are absorbed linguistically after one generation -- while those settling among the Basques seem to retain their language.

But there are also observations which seem to refute this view. Thus assimilation among the millions of Italians in the U.S.A. has taken place at probably a faster pace than among Germans and Norwegians (though not than among the Swedes). After the expulsion of the German inhabitants from the Sudeten territory, and from the eastern provinces of former Prussia, several hundred thousand Ukrainians were forcibly transplanted from Southeastern Poland into Eastern Germany and a half million Slovaks from Slovakia into Bohemia to settle among the Polish and Czech newcomers, respectively. It might be interesting to observe the pace at which the Ukrainians adopt the Polish, and the Slovaks the Czech language in their new environment.

At any rate, the problem is one deserving further investigation.

6.53 Interference and Scholastic Background

The problem I propose to investigate here is one which touches the two areas of institutional and of individual bilingualism. Interference as Mackey (1965) rightly points out is by definition a phenomenon bound up with speech habits of the individual; as soon as the group accepts and uses an element from another language, the linguists speak instead of language borrowing.

The concept of school 'policy' on the other hand refers by definition to some (relatively) 'central' agency -- usually a governmental one -- where policy-makers are trying to direct people towards old or new language goals.

When looking at the innumerable articles dealing with interference, one is struck by how little is said about the scholastic background of the tested individuals. Quite frequently the linguistic performance of individuals is described as if the language policy prevailing in that country or region were irrelevant.

I shall illustrate what I mean in table form by indicating seven main possibilities with regard to the mother tongue (MT) and other tongue (OT) in the school system. The seventh combination (indicating three blanks) refers to an instance where the nation did not provide schools at all, thereby leaving its citizens illiterate.

The school policy (or lack of a policy) can lead to one of the following possibilities in handling mother tongues and other tongues in the primary grades:

Language (MT = Mother tongue; OT = other tongue)

	Taught as a subject	Used as a vehicle of instruction	MT neither a subject nor medium but an auxiliary tongue
1.	(MT)	(MT)	
2.	(OT)	(MT)	
3.	(OT + MT)	(OT + MT)	
4.	(MT)	(OT)	
5.	(OT)	(OT)	(MT)
6.	(OT)	(OT)	--
7.	--	--	--

We may expect the degree, and the type of interference to vary considerably according to whether the persons interrogated have been educated in a school where only their MT was used (1), where only the OT was used (6) or where no formal education was offered at all (7).

The adoption of a single structural code as described by Gumperz (1967, pp. 53-54) by bilingual speakers of Kannada and Marathi would be unthinkable if the interlocutors had attended schools where both languages were used, or one used and the other at least taught. The inference would be that they were either illiterates or could handle only one language 'correctly' according to scholastic standards.

There probably are situations where reference to primary school policy will be sufficient (e.g. when the interlocutors are members -- some of them even illiterate -- of the working class in one of the developing countries). In a great many other instances it will be necessary to check on the influence of secondary schools and, of course, on radio and television.

It is suggested, therefore, that a systematic effort be made to describe, measure, and evaluate the degree and type of interference among members of several small bilingual groups which include illiterates as well as those who attended secondary or primary school; some of these school graduates having been taught through both languages and some through the OT only with the MT being either completely ignored or treated as a mere subject of instruction.

6.54 Interference and Language Distance

Not only language loyalty (section 6.52) but linguistic interference as well may be mutually conditioned by the intrinsic distance between the two languages in question. It is utterly unlikely that Spanish-Catalan bilingualism will lead to the same type of interference as Spanish-Basque or Spanish-Quechua bilingualism. I am not sure that in the already voluminous body of writings on interference this aspect has been duly looked into; most scholars after all investigated but one dyadic relationship without casting a glance on other pairs of languages. (See e.g. Badia-Margarit 1964). Comparisons could be made between Spanish-Catalan and Spanish-Basque bilinguals measuring the influence of their Mts on the OT (Spanish), or even the influence of the same MT (Spanish) on two OTs (Catalan and Basque). This might be done by means of tests on the levels of phonemics, grammar, basic lexicon, semantics, and style. We could easily test French-Italian and French-Dutch bilinguals in Montreal. As pointed out sub.6.53 care should be taken to select persons with a comparable scholastic background, but that should not be difficult in Spain where minority tongues are nowhere a part of the school curricula so that those who speak them are rather uniformly illiterate in their mother tongue.

7.0 Language Planning

7.1 Survey of Language Planning Agencies

Planning with regard to languages is usually understood to mean that some agency, person, or persons are trying to change the shape or the corpus of a language by proposing or prescribing the introduction of new technical terms, changes in spelling, or the adoption of a new script. Occasionally (as in the case of Norwegian Bokmal) even changes in morphology may be initiated, new endings prescribed and a new gender admitted. These innovations have one thing in common, that they modify the nature of the language itself, changing its corpus as it were. We may thus speak of language corpus planning.

There exists, however, another dimension of planning where one busies oneself not with the structure and form of language but with its standing alongside other languages or vis-à-vis a national government. Those concerned with this type of language planning take the corpus of the language for granted, at least for the time being. They are primarily interested in the status of the language whether it is satisfactory as it is or whether it should be lowered or raised. Here we can speak of language status planning.

The big difference between corpus and status planning is that the former cannot be done without the help of some specialists, chiefly linguists and writers, who are called upon to form an academy, commission or some other official or semiofficial body within the framework of which they are expected to do some long-range teamwork. No such separate set-up, as a rule can take place, for status planning. This is done by statesmen or bureaucrats as part of their routine work, mostly with some legal but with very little sociolinguistic background.

However, times are changing and bewildering situations such as the multiplicity of languages in sub-Saharan Africa or in New-Guinea have called for concerted action on the parts of sociolinguists. And even in the occidental world, we nowadays find commissions such as the Belgian "Commission permanente pour l'amélioration des relations communautaires", and the Canadian Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

A survey of agencies that did or are doing language corpus planning would be quite desirable. It should describe such externals, as the composition of the agencies (statements concerning the occupational/professional background of the members would in most cases tell us more than their names would), their terms of reference, the scope of their work, and their major achievements. It should also analyze their activities with regard to guiding directives and principles.

(A survey of the few language status planning agencies could probably emerge as a by-product of the survey suggested sub. 4.6).

7.2 Case Studies

Besides a general survey of language corpus planning agencies, we would need detailed case studies. It would be desirable to select at least one language that aspires to the highest levels of scholarly and spiritual activities -- e.g. Hindi, or Bahasa in Indonesia -- and one used by a small speech community which could never hope to see its language used for books on nuclear physics or biochemistry. We are inclined to underestimate the amount of adaptation necessary to make over an archaic cultural tongue or a lowly vernacular into a tool of modern technology. But we are perhaps even more inclined to underestimate the gulf that separates an emerging world language like Hindi from lowly tongues like Faroese, or perhaps even Burmese or Amharic. Jan Knappert writes (Linguistics, Dec. 1964, p. 84) that it took more than 10 years to create a scientific vocabulary for Hindi and Hebrew, and that for each of these two languages about 300,000 technical terms alone had been created in the realm of technology, while no African language has even the technical terms needed to designate the parts of a motor car. But few, if any, African languages would aspire to such a comprehensive expansion as Hebrew and Hindi.

Conceivably a restricted list of carefully selected terms -- 10, 000 or at most 30, 000 -- may suffice for even the major tongues of sub-Saharan Africa. So what is needed first may be a plan for the planners i. e. an outline of how far the coining (or borrowing) of new words may have to go in the case of languages spoken by 5 millions, 0. 5 millions and 0. 05 millions, respectively. (Cf. also section 2. 3).

7. 3 Economic Aspect of Language Planning

Either as a follow-up investigation or as a part of the original case studies advocated in 7. 2, some data should be gathered concerning the economic and the financial aspects of language planning. What does it cost to transform a vernacular into a cultural tongue fit at least for modernized primary school teaching ? UNESCO undoubtedly had some information on this question. What does it cost to make the language of a tiny speech community prosper ? According to Robert J. Armstrong, linguists in Africa are in general agreement that the complete development of a previously unwritten language for literacy purposes, including the writing of a scientific grammar, a teaching grammar, literacy texts, a bilingual dictionary and last but not least, the training of teachers, requires a yearly expenditure of $15, 000 (at the prices of 1964) over a period of five years (Armstrong 1968, p. 234). The Faeroe Islands, as I see it, would offer good laboratory conditions. Here 35, 000 persons with practically no co-nationals abroad (and ca. 3-5, 000 in mainland Denmark) maintain schools, some 20 periodicals and even if only on a modest scale, publishing houses and scientific societies. How do they manage to get along ? What part of their cultural budget comes from their own resources, and how much does Copenhagen have to contribute ? Close scrutiny would probably reveal the following ways of making books and periodicals financially possible:

1. Gratuitous services: writers and editors renounce their legitimate claim to remuneration.

2. Revenue:

   2.1 Community-derived revenue:

2.11	Commercial	(sales, advertisements, etc.)
2.12	Collective	(self-taxation, membership fees)
2.13	Benevolent	(subsidies from individual persons or business enterprises within the speech community).

   2.2 Outside subsidies:

   from (2.21) political, (2.22) non-political agencies; or from (2.21) domestic, (2.22) foreign, (2.23) supranational sources.

Perhaps nowhere could pertinent information be so easily obtained, examined, processed, as on the Faeroe Islands. And the findings would be a valid and valuable contribution to the question: "How expensive is the *maintenance* of bilingualism ?".

Quite another question is that of *creating* bilingualism, i.e. of making a monolingual population bilingual. It has been said by some Canadians that to make the R.C.B.B.'s dream of a fully bilingualized Canada come true might cost not much less than the solution of the Negro problem in the U.S.A. Certainly it is a task of epic dimensions, even financially.

7.4 Purism vs. Borrowing

In a discussion of language corpus planning we inevitably come across the thorny question of whether new needed designations should be taken over from other languages, preferably from the rich international reservoir of Greek and Latin terms, or from the language itself by forming compounds or by use of prefixes and suffixes (and/or even by reviving words belonging to an earlier stage of the language, e.g. Sanskrit as a kind of Ur-Hindi).

This topic, while being peripheral to bilingualism, is closely related to the point made in 6.2 namely the alleged interdependence of nationalism and language maintenance. We find a similar attitude with regard to tendencies to reduce large-scale borrowing and instead to get back to the native stock of words -- a reaction that is often interpreted as a sure symptom of nationalism. But nationalism and movements to watch over the 'purity' of a language are closely related but not identical phenomena. Hitler was a nationalist but was fond of Fremdwörter. The Icelanders are among the most peace-minded peoples on earth but they invented native substitutes even for atom and electricity. Actually, there are at least three reasons given, both by writers and laymen, for insisting on a 'pure' language, (cf. Kloss 1953). The first reason is the nationalistic one which wants the language to remain true to the heritage of the past. The second reason, which states that the man in the street is better served by a language in which even the loftiest and subtlest concepts may be expressed by words derived from everyday speech, is basically democratic. The third argument which often underlies the attitude of poets (G.M. Hopkins, Dylan Thomas) is esthetic in that it implies or at least feels that a 'pure' language is more beautiful than a mixed one. The task of the scholar is not so much to side with the 'purists' or the 'borrowers' but impartially to investigate the direction language corpus planners have chosen and to find out what kind of motivation has determined their policy.

7.5 Organic Assimilation

Language Status Planning will, in many cases come to the diagnosis that certain linguistic minorities are desirous of changing their language, and that others, especially in countries where dozens of small speech communities are crowded together in a small area, may have to give up their languages whether they like it or not.

Here again (just as in sections 6.22 and 7.4) we are up against a fixed belief that says: wherever the elimination of the language of a linguistic minority is found to be desirable or even necessary, the chief means of bringing this about is to have this language completely excluded from the schools. In the U.S.A. for instance, extermination of the 300 odd Indian languages has always been held to be necessary in the best interest of the Indians themselves whose acculturation was believed to be greatly retarded by the language barrier.

As it turned out, however, assimilation of the North American Indians was slowed down rather than accelerated by this linguistic policy. As it was,the bilingual Indian became a split personality. His MT, let us say Navaho remained linked up with everything that was traditional while the modern ways of life became identified with the OT (English).

Had there been two years of schooling largely through the MT this dichotomy would not have developed to the same degree. The Indian would have become able to think and speak about the elementary skills of modern culture in Navaho, and the MT would no longer be just part of a past tradition. The gap between the two worlds would have been bridged at least partly.

Mexico was the first nation to recognize the truth of what I have tried to set forth very briefly. In this case, as so often in life, a detour may actually become a shortcut and an apparent detour via the MT may in reality lead to quicker assimilation. Use of the MT as a medium during the first and second years of school, if followed by a systematic and exclusive use of the OT, will not prevent but promote assimilation. The policy of ruthlessly ignoring the MT may be detrimental to the mental growth of children, and especially of the slow learners.

Much of the present discussion concerning use of the MT in the schools of developing countries is fruitless because the distinction between language maintenance and organic assimilation is not sufficiently heeded.

The problem might be tackled by field work.

7.6 How Many Standard Tongues ?

The Association Internationale pour la Défense des Langues et Cultures Menacées (AILCM) which is made up of a number of European scholars chiefly from the Scandinavian and Latin countries, has since its foundation in 1963, tried to salvage minor languages threatened with extinction.

In 1967 I sent letters to two of their leading men, namely Professor G. Héraud in Strasbourg, and Professor Pierre Naert in Turku (Finland), stating my opinion that in a number of countries there were just too many languages (80 in the Cameroun, 150 in Nigeria, etc.) and that it is unrealistic to try and save them all from extinction.

In reply Professor Naert gave his opinion as follows:

The abundance of languages in these countries is more apparent than real, for most of the so-called 'languages' actually are closely related in a dialect-like manner, just as the Wessex and the Northumberland dialects of English, or the Tuscan and the Sicilian dialects of Italy. The difficulty lies in overcoming the aversion of the various dialect communities to seeing their vernaculars become subordinated to some standard-form which is not based on their own regional speech-form.

Professor Naert feels that this psychological obstacle will be removed more easily if the new standard is not based on a single regional variant but is 'constructed' in an eclectic way by drawing on as many major dialects as possible so that no single speech group can boast of its dialect's superiority. In this way, Professor Naert believes there will ultimately emerge a reasonably limited number of standard languages.

I do not see that the C.I.R.B. could at the present time or in the near future embark upon any research work on its own along this line. But it might suggest the problems in a letter to some other agency, e.g. the Ford Foundation-sponsored

> Survey of Language Use and Language Teaching in
> Eastern Africa, Nairobi.

At the moment this organization may be the best equipped in terms of both experts, terms of reference, and money to help answer the question of whether Professor Naert is right and which after all, touches upon an aspect of language planning which has more than regional significance.

The question: "How many standard tongues ?" has some other aspects as well. The traditional juxtaposition of standard tongues over against languages that are unalphabetized or at least more or less devoid of literature will have to yield to a closer analysis where we find at least three levels of standardization corresponding roughly to the levels of elementary, secondary, and higher education (see the survey sketched under 2. 3). It goes without saying that fewer languages aspire to the secondary than to the elementary level, that still fewer can hope ever to be used in learned prose and of these a majority only for speech community-oriented research, i. e. for such topics as bear directly on the ethnic group in question, its language and the territory it inhabits. A graded survey on how many languages are falling or should fall into one of these three categories will prove to be quite useful. So far the whole issue is still rather cloudy. Leaving apart the cases of Hindi and Chinese, we do not even know whether a single developing nation speaking a non-European language has succeeded in producing a body of learned prose worth mentioning which is not entirely 'speech community-centered.'

8.0 Bibliographical Notes

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